

# **The Kaingarara Letters**

## **The Correspondence of Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke in the A.S. Atkinson Papers, 1857 – 1863**

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**By Penelope Goode**

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## Abstract

Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke was the leader of the Kaingarara, a body of people who practised distinctive rituals, apparently designed to remove the tapu from sacred places. Kaingarara people also organised a system of local courts for the government of the community, perhaps because they were also supporters of the King Movement, or because they mirrored it. The Kaingarara movement began in Taranaki in the 1850s, where it persisted at least into the early 1860s. A Maori-language record of its life in Taranaki survives in the Arthur Samuel Atkinson Collection, held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. This thesis presents an edited transcription and annotated translation of all the manuscript letters in the Atkinson Collection that were written by or to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. The letters are variously personal, political and religious in theme. The annotation locates the Kaingarara's field of operation through the restoration of lost pa and place names to an historical map of Taranaki. It also assembles scattered information about people mentioned in the letters, for example, the important chiefs Erueti Te Whiti, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, Te Kepa and Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea as a basis for future explorations and reconstructions of Taranaki worlds. By tracing the English originals of transliterated personal names in the annotation, it offers evidence on baptism rates among Taranaki Maori.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## Note on the texts

The letters are part of the A.S. Atkinson Collection housed in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This collection, which spans the years 1847 to 1866, contains a total of 251 items, the bulk of which are letters written in Maori. Many of these were taken from houses in villages which were captured and destroyed by colonial troops during the war in Taranaki in 1868. Arthur Samuel Atkinson was himself a private in the Volunteers. He was the editor and part-owner of the *Taranaki Herald*, published in New Plymouth, from 1862 to 1867. This paper was an important source of political news in the province, and Atkinson himself occasionally translated Maori letters for inclusion in its columns. The competence of his translations shows that he was an accomplished linguist in Maori.

Fifty-two letters are included in the present study. They have been chosen because they are either written by or to Tamati te Ito Ngamoke. The condition of the manuscripts ranges from excellent to very poor. Most of the time I have worked from hard copies printed from the microfilm. However, many letters are in part illegible, and required technical manipulation of microfilm copies in order to read - sometimes tentatively - faint or illegible writing, or to suggest possible meanings for sentences where part of the text is missing altogether. In this study the magnifying glass has been an indispensable tool. The study of historical manuscripts requires, above all, very many hours of patient and repeated study. Nevertheless in many cases definitive readings remain elusive. Missing or illegible text has been indicated throughout this study by the use of square brackets: [ ].

The focus of the present study is historical. The overall aim in dealing with transcriptions of the letters has been to leave them in as an original state as is consistent with clarity of meaning. The letters are presented chronologically. Undated letters nevertheless offer clues as to their dates by their subject matter or the places they were written at, and have been placed in what seems to be appropriate positions.

Because the starting point of this thesis was to present a historical picture, a decision was made to go for breadth rather than depth and present *all* the letters written by or to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. This decision inevitably had a cost. Many of the fifty-two letters are difficult to decipher because of the state of the manuscripts, and the lack of supporting context means that it is often difficult, even impossible, to understand what is going on. Given - most of all - the sheer numbers and abstruse themes of many of the letters, the cost has been to the scope of the translations. Definitive translations have not been attempted. The aim has been to offer working drafts as a basis for future study.

The punctuation of these letters, like that of most Maori writings in the 1850s and 1860s, bears little resemblance to the standards of today. Where present at all, commas are much more likely to appear than full stops to suggest the close of sentences - or perhaps more accurately, Maori perceptions of appropriate speech pauses. The Atkinson Letters tend to open with the capitalisation of the initial letter of the greeting. Personal and place names are often capitalised. Beyond that, there is a striking lack of standardisation. Capital letters appear randomly, and are only infrequently useful in helping to determine meaning. Some Maori writers adopt the

contemporary practices of writers in English of showing that a word continues in the following line (by placing a dash under it), and by repeating the last word on a page at the beginning of the following page. That these small aids can be so useful to the transcriber is an indication of the severity of problems of legibility encountered in this work.

I have chosen to use as little punctuation as is compatible with retaining clarity of meaning, as a means towards the goal that has been pursued throughout this study, of imposing as little as possible on the originals. Macrons, therefore, which were still rarely used by Pakeha writers of the day and not at all by Maori, have not been added. Only one letter writer, Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru, consistently doubles vowels to mark vowel length. He writes possessive pronouns such as *taku*, *naku* as *taaku* and *nooku* (Letters 19 and 41). His practice does not, however, extend beyond these particles, and in later letters he reverts to single vowel forms for the pronouns noted above. Idiosyncracies such as this have not been commented on in the texts, except where a note is an aid to meaning.

It is common - in fact usual - in Maori writing of this period for particles such as *ki* and *a* to be elided. The case is, however, more general. Elision may be encountered in any circumstance where the final vowel of one word is the same as the initial vowel of the following word. In the transcriptions, elided words have been routinely separated for the sake of ease of reading.

It was a Maori practice of the times not only to shorten names, but also to drop the initial vowel, particularly, but not only, after the particle *a*. Thus Aperahama will

sometimes appear as Aperā, and also as Pera. Shortened names are noted in footnotes on first occurrence.

In the 1850s there was a move to standardise Maori orthography. This would eventually result in the conversion of *w* and *h* into modern *wh*. Among Taranaki writers the preference was originally for *w*. However there is evidence that writers were attempting to implement the new orthographical standards, and *w*, *h* and *wh* are all found. These have been retained without comment. In general, later letters show an increased use of *wh*. A double *a* presented difficulties, with unorthodox results; significant oddities have been footnoted.

The use of 'th' after a date, e.g. 14<sup>th</sup> Aperira (Letter 188), is not uncommon, and shows an awareness of English forms that constitute a silent backdrop to the language of the letters. Again, because the focus of the present study is not linguistic, such occurrences are not commented on in the text. What is *not* present in the text is often as valuable for such a study as what is there. For example, it is common for Maori letter writers, presumably under the influence of missionaries, to employ quite elaborate forms of writing dates, such as 'I te tuatahi o nga ra o te marama o Oketopa I te tau o to tatou Ariki 1863' ('on the first of the days of the month of October in the Year of Our Lord 1863'). This form does not appear in the Kaingarara letters under study, and is significant in light of information about the nature of the Kaingarara movement that has been gathered for this study. Although Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke and his followers were formerly Christian, they seem to have erased Christian forms of speech and writing from their lexicon.

The written language of native speakers today may still reflect the cadences of spoken Maori (e.g. an intrusive *w* in *enei*). This is also evident in the language of Taranaki writers in the 1850s. The loss of an initial *w* after a word ending with a vowel is relatively common, e.g. Tamati Reina (Letter 23): *ko ai* for *ko wai*.

The preferences of writers of letters may amount to a personal style or idiosyncrasy. For example, Ihaia Te Karawa twice writes *ne he mea* for *me he mea* (Letter 24) - although he was sick at the time! However most of their patterns suggest a conscious attempt to reproduce the new, country-wide standard used by Pakeha writers of Maori - who, after all, controlled virtually the entire output of printed Maori in this period. Occasionally, their idiosyncracies require an effort on the part of the reader, but they are important evidence of the linguistic history of the nineteenth century language. They have not been altered in this study. Hapurona Pukerimu, for example in Letter 223 consistently adds an *h* to a variety of words, e.g. *wakahae* for *w[h]akaae* and *ha* for *a*. Conversely, it is relatively common among the writers for an initial *h* to be absent, especially in short words such as *he* (Letter 39).

The most continuously frustrating aspect of translating the Kaingarara letters has been the inability to find a satisfactory translation for the word *ritenga*. Mostly, I have translated it as 'ruling', but always with an awareness that it fails to convey the depth of meaning that it had for its users. A search of contemporary translations reveals that this difficulty was shared by Pakeha translators of the day.



## Introduction

The letters written to and by Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke add a substantial primary source of information about the Kaingarara movement to existing secondary sources on which previous studies have depended. This introduction indicates the content of the secondary sources and shows how they intersect with the letters.

### Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke was born, probably in the third decade of the nineteenth century, into the Puketapu hapu of the Ngati Awa tribe.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that he was related to a Ngati Awa chief Te Ito, who helped lead the Tama-te-uaua migration to Kapiti in 1832 and who was subsequently killed at Whanganui.<sup>2</sup> Tamati Te Ngamoke is thought to have received a Wesleyan education. He had a wife, called Mihi, a daughter called Neirai who was born in 1853 and died in 1860, and possibly also a number of sons.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his return from the Melbourne goldfields in 1853,<sup>4</sup> Tamati became involved in the feuding which persisted in Taranaki throughout the mid to late 1850s.<sup>5</sup> He also established himself as the leader of groups engaged in the removal of tapu from sacred places.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Percy Smith, *Clairvoyance among the Maoris* 1920, p151; *AJHR* 1870, Vol.1, A-No.11, p7.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Smith, *History & Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* 1984, pp488-492.

<sup>3</sup> See Letters 11, 78 and 240.

<sup>4</sup> *AJHR* 1869, 14-A, No. 13, No. 22, pp14-15.

<sup>5</sup> Smith 1920, p151; *AJHR* 1861, C-No.1, Encl. 3, No.66, pp219-220.

<sup>6</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3; Smith 1920, p15; Hammond 1940, p77; *AJHR* 1869, 14-A, No.13, p15.

With the outbreak of war in Taranaki in March 1860, Tamati signalled his support for the King. He lived in settlements known for their opposition to the government at least until late 1867 or early 1868.<sup>7</sup> By then, Tamati was known as the 'Mataitawa prophet' and was reportedly engaged in a rivalry with fellow prophet, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai.<sup>8</sup> However, he later joined the Parihaka community, and observed the teachings of Te Whiti until his death at an unknown date in the early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

### The name of the Kaingarara movement

Literally translated, kaingarara means 'eat lizard'. This word appears in the letters as the name of a group of people, or of representatives of the group. Letter 45 says 'Aperahama and Te Kuhakuha have agreed that the money for the benefit of the law should be given to us, the Kaingarara.' Letter 13 calls Poharama the 'child of the Kaingarara.' Letter 17 addresses a group with the words 'Listen here, Kaingarara.' Nineteenth century observers of the movement, however, do not use this term. They talk around it, calling it, for example, 'a strange movement with regard to sacred places.' They refer to it as a movement to remove, or abolish tapu, or even a 'politico-religious' movement aiming to save the Maori race. A typical report on the movement reads:

The natives have long seen and mourned over their fast decreasing numbers and their approaching extinction as a people. It is a settled point with them that no one dies naturally who does not live to extreme old age; and they have come to the conclusion that they have broken the *tapu* of their sacred places, and thus offended their old deities. One of them, in the shape of a reptile,

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<sup>7</sup> *AJHR* 1869, 14-A, No.13, No.22, pp14-15; *The Taranaki Herald*, 1 September 1860.

<sup>8</sup> *Taranaki News*, 23 September 1876, p7; *The Taranaki Herald*, 18 March 1871; *The Taranaki Herald* 19 October 1870; *AJHR* 1870 Vol.1, A-No.16, p18.

<sup>9</sup> *AJHR* 1872, F-No.3a, No.25, p25; *AJHR* 1876, Vol.2, G-1, No.2; Smith 1920, p151 .

enters into the body of every one, Native or European, who may have wittingly or unwittingly broken the *tapu*, and eats away his vitals. This is to them the true explanation of their decrease.<sup>10</sup>

The letters, however, prove that Kaingarara was a collective name for the followers of Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke, hence its use in this study.

### **Kaingarara and its antecedent, the Wahi Tapu movement**<sup>11</sup>

According to the published literature, the movements known as Wahi Tapu and Kaingarara emerged as localised responses to the debilitating illnesses and devastating rates of mortality experienced by Maori in the mid nineteenth century. The movement aimed to remove tapu permanently, because it was believed that people no longer knew where tapu sites were located, and were unwittingly desecrating them and suffering the consequences. According to one report, 'the sacrilege ...[had] become so general throughout the country, that any effort to restore the ceremony to its original purity and power must prove abortive'.<sup>12</sup> By establishing these circumstances to be the work of the spirits of the ancestors, whose malevolence had developed as a consequence of recent neglect of tapu in favour of Christian worship, Wahi Tapu and Kaingarara asserted a Maori responsibility for and control over their culture and environment.

The Wahi Tapu movement seems to have been named by Pakeha. It was active in Taranaki during the early to mid 1850s.<sup>13</sup> In particular, people around New

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<sup>10</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 8 August 1857, p3.

<sup>11</sup> The secondary literature is a nineteenth century one. Modern work such as that of Bronwyn Elsmore, (*Mana From Heaven*, 1989) repeats both the evidence and the conclusions of the earlier literature and will not be considered here.

<sup>12</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3.

<sup>13</sup> Parr 1967, p42; Smith 1920, p149; Hammond 1940, pp76-7.

Plymouth and Southern Taranaki were influenced by the movement,<sup>14</sup> which is also the area most closely associated with Kaingarara. The Wahi Tapu movement conducted ceremonies to extinguish the power of sacred places and the spirits that were contained within them in the form of mauri.<sup>15</sup> Mauri were material representations, usually made of stone, of the living spirit of the life of all things. Mauri protected the vitality of the people, places and resources to which they were dedicated.<sup>16</sup> Large numbers of people gathered for these ceremonies. The sites were dug over and their stones gathered and burnt.<sup>17</sup> Richard Taylor said:

...these *wahi tapu*...were...the fruitful source of death to those who entered their sacred precincts. To put an end to this evil they had instituted a new method of exorcising these dangerous places; they went to them in a body, forming a large circle, in the centre they lighted a fire and cooked some potatoes; this was to *wakanoa* the spot, that is, to destroy its sanctity; next the operators gave a potato[sic] to each in the circle, and whilst they were being eaten the temptation of the Lord was read, and then a prayer was uttered, to destroy the power and malice of the devil. After this ceremony it was supposed there was no longer anything to fear from such places.<sup>18</sup>

Taylor suggested that the ceremonies were conducted by a number of operators believed to possess proficiency in the removal of tapu,<sup>19</sup> but other accounts specifically position Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke, the future leader of Kaingarara, as the head of the movement.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Hammond 1940, p7; Smith 1920, p152.

<sup>15</sup> Smith 1920, p150.

<sup>16</sup> Orbell 1995, pp114-115.

<sup>17</sup> Smith 1920, p151; *AJHR* 1869, 14-A, No.13, No.22, pp14-15; *Taranaki News*, 15 March 1873, p4; Hammond 1940, p77.

<sup>18</sup> Taylor 1868, p60.

<sup>19</sup> Taylor, p60; see also *Taranaki News* 15 March 1873, p4.

<sup>20</sup> *AJHR* 1869, 14-A, No.13, No.22, pp14-15; Smith 1920, p151; Hammond 1940, p77.

## The emergence of Kaingarara

The shift in practice from Wahi Tapu to Kaingarara can be identified from 1857, with the Wesleyan Missionary Society New Plymouth Native Circuit Report of that year documenting the emergence of another ‘...strange movement among the people...in reference to their sacred places’.<sup>21</sup> The report defines Kaingarara’s influence as being felt ‘...among the people generally both in this Circuit and all along the coast’.<sup>22</sup> The Wesleyans had a well-established presence on the coast south of New Plymouth.

The ‘Circuit’, or areas visited by Wesleyan ministers, was identified as consisting of pa ‘generally situate[d] along the main road called the Devon Line which runs northward from New Plymouth parallel with the sea coast’.<sup>23</sup> It included Huirangi, Kaipakopako, Karumohiti, Paraiti and Tima, all of which appear in the Kaingarara letters within the Atkinson Collection.

While the identification of illness with the ‘neglect’ of tapu continued, (‘enquiry [was] made in the case of sickness as to any violation of tapu which may by any possibility have occurred’),<sup>24</sup> Kaingarara signalled a significant shift in focus. Lizards, not mauri, became identified as the medium through which illness flourished. It was reported that:

...the ‘Wahi Tapu’, or ‘sacred place’, has been desecrated from the consecrated grove, flax and toetoe have been gathered, and the presiding deity has been offended:- his vengeance assuming the form of a Ngarara (lizard) enters the body of a man, consumes his vitals, and thereby causes death. Hence the Maori race has diminished, and will continue to diminish until the wrath of the offended god has been fully appeased’.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See also *The Lyttelton Times* 8 August 1857, p7, 15 August 1857, p3.

<sup>22</sup> Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) ; Report of New Plymouth Circuit, 1857.

<sup>23</sup> WMS 1856.

<sup>24</sup> WMS 1857.

<sup>25</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3; see also *ibid.*, 8 August 1857, p7, WMS 1857.

According to Richard Taylor, lizards were physically incorporated within the Kaingarara ceremony as the abodes of malevolent spirits. They were:

...carefully sought for, and then a large iron pot was made red hot, and the poor little things were put into it and consumed. This caused the spirits to fly out of them in the shape of large moths; then the pots were filled with potatoes, which were eaten whilst certain prayers were uttered.<sup>26</sup>

With the shift from Wahi Tapu to Kaingarara, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke steps forward. Although he was involved with the former movement, the letters show him as invariably in positions of leadership and control of Kaingarara. Letters 18 and 27 specifically name Tamati as the person to approach for the resolution of community disputes, (as for example Letter 79, which deals with slander), for the cause and treatment of sickness (Letter 31) and, in particular, for guidance on the performance of rituals (e.g. Letters 12, 13, 14). Even where other men have positions of authority, it is clear that Tamati is in charge.

### **Kaingarara and the politics of mana motuhake**

There was a contemporary perception, however, that Kaingarara had larger objectives than the treatment of illness and the removal of tapu. A report said that it was claimed by '...some knowing ones ... that there is lurking behind an intention to combine all the race together.'<sup>27</sup> This comment is interesting, because the letters show that Kaingarara was not only interested in ritual practices, but in developing a measure of local self-government through the institution of courts and the appointment of justices, or kaiwhakawa. Letters 18, 23, 30, 43 and 188 deal with accusations of adultery, often with an appeal to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke for advice or

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<sup>26</sup> Taylor 1868, p62; see also *The Lyttelton Times*, 8 August & 15 August, 1857.

<sup>27</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 8 August 1857; see also 15 August, 1857.

judgements. Its importance as a community issue is underlined by the evidence of the census conducted by F.D. Fenton in 1858, which consistently shows men outnumbering women in Taranaki villages. Letter 67 deals with a bizarre case of being in possession of preserved heads, while Letters 23 and 27 are on the subject of theft. Letter 20 argues with a judgement about the distribution of land for cultivation by the Kaingarara, while the topic of Letter 69 is the contentious issue of 'land for the Kaingarara children.' These cases strongly suggest that the Kaingarara movement has much in common with the King Movement in its focus on law and order and the development of policies for land rights. Certainly the letters show the Kaingarara functioning as a community and a kin-group who greet each other in familial terms.

### **Christianity and Kaingarara ritual**

It is notable that most of the Kaingarara letter writers have names that indicate that they are baptised Christians. The adoption of Christianity was identified as facilitating the breakdown of rigorous observation of tapu. One of the commonest themes of Maori reflection on change at the time was, as already mentioned, that people died young: 'In olden times, ere we disregarded the Tapu, we all reached old age; - we became Christians, and trod on 'sacred places', and you see what has now become of us.'<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, Kaingarara and Christianity were presented by Maori as compatible doctrines. Some followers of Kaingarara made efforts to persuade their Pakeha Christian teachers of this.<sup>29</sup> When '...reproved for entertaining so superstitious a notion' the Kaingarara replied, 'Are we not doing God service by thus assisting to break down this great evil – Tapu'.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3.

<sup>29</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 8 August 1857, p7.

<sup>30</sup> *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August, p3 .

There is, however, no evidence in the letters that Kaingarara was practised with the intention of replacing the control exercised by tapu with Christianity.<sup>31</sup> One of the most notable aspects of the Kaingarara letters is the almost complete absence of references to Christianity, or of Christian imagery. In the body of fifty-two letters, only two have such references. In Letter 219 Rawenata closes a letter with the words 'This is a loving word of mine to you all in the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ.' In Letter 15 Patoromu says:

When Mr Kirk's meeting was held at Owhangai, I did not receive the sacrament. Only the people [of the church] received it. For I remembered my decision for you when I came to you at Te Karokaro.

This letter may suggest that becoming Kaingarara involved rejection of Pakeha – sourced religion, but other evidence suggests that Christian prayer was a part of Kaingarara tapu-removal ceremonies. While Richard Taylor, who, as a missionary had dealings with the Kaingarara people, is probably the best-placed authority on the movement, does not specify the nature of the prayers recited, the Wesleyans claimed that the reading of passages of Scripture formed part of the Kaingarara ceremony.<sup>32</sup> However, classic tapu-removal methods, cooked food and fire, were noted by Taylor as central to Kaingarara ceremony, and this is borne out by the letters.<sup>33</sup>

Both food and burning are prominent in Kaingarara activities. Letters 12 and 13 talk about catching, cooking and eating fish of different sorts and in different quantities. However in Letter 49, eels and sharks were simply burnt. Letter 9 is about

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<sup>31</sup> WMS 1857; *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3.

<sup>32</sup> WMS 1857; *The Lyttelton Times*, 8 August, p7.



the ritual burning of a shirt on Tamati's instruction, while Letter 223 organises the burning of a flax cape in a designated location. Letter 35 describes a ritual which fails, apparently when there was insufficient firewood to consume some pounded potatoes. These letters, which include the construction of lamprey weirs, the allocation of specific fishing grounds, and even specific types of fish to be caught, to particular people are among the most interesting in the collection, however they are also among the most difficult to interpret because of lack of context. Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke was a celebrity with a high public profile. According to a report, Tamati was 'attended with a large retinue' and 'heralded by 'blowing of trumpets.''<sup>34</sup> He was said to be 'responsible for conducting tapu removal ceremonies throughout the district' and 'at the present time his hands are quite full of similar engagements'.<sup>35</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Whatever the full picture was, the Kaingarara movement clearly attracted widespread attention among local Maori. The attention it has gained from scholars, by contrast, has been as meagre as their information has been repetitive. The translation of the letters which follows shows that the movement was complex. It operated in both political and social arenas. In addition, the letters bring a human warmth to the subject that no outsider observations can equal. The letters do not focus on Pakeha or the government, although Taranaki was the centre of political struggle between Maori and Pakeha. They show instead a Maori society functioning on its own terms and focused on its own priorities. This provides a corrective to a historiography dominated by the politics of central government or the interests of missionaries, and by analysis

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<sup>33</sup> Taylor 1868, p2; *The Lyttelton Times*, 15 August 1857, p3.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *The Taranaki Herald*, 20 June 1857.

arising from Pakeha sources of information. There remains very much to be done in elucidating the nature of the Kaingarara movement and the lives of the people who believed in it. This thesis is offered as a contribution to that larger task.



# **The Kaingarara Letters**

## **Texts and Translations**

## MS 31:9

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Whanga<sup>1</sup>

[ ]<sup>2</sup> pa

Oketopa 18 1857

Haere ra e taku reta aroha ki taku tamaiti, ki a Tamati Te Ito. Tena ra koe, he [ ]ra<sup>3</sup> rawa to  
aroha atu ki a koe.

Kia rongo mai koe, ko nga mea i tuhia mai ai e koe kua wera i te ahi. I tahuna e au ki te kari, ko  
hate.

Ko te paipa, i purua ai te tupeka, i waohia ki roto ki te peke e urungatia ai e korua. Ka rongo rav  
ake au. Kua purua e au ki taua paipa, kua pakaru i [a] au.

Tena ra koe.

Ka mutu.

Naku, na Taituha.

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<sup>1</sup> See map. Te Whanga, also written as Te Whaanga, Te Wanga and even Te Whahanga, was a pa on the Waitara River (see map), and part of the Pekapeka block. It was Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke's pa. Te Whanga was destroyed by British troops in March 1860; *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representative (AJHR)* 1863, E No.2.

<sup>2</sup> Illegible. According to the report of the Wesleyan New Plymouth Native Circuit for 1856, in the 1850s in this area were typically settlements which had been converted into stockades because of the endemic feuding in Taranaki; Wesleyan Missionary Society: New Plymouth Native Circuit Reports, 1856.

<sup>3</sup> Illegible.

To Tamati<sup>4</sup> Ngamoke<sup>5</sup> at Te Whanga

[ ] pa

October 18 1857

Go, my loving letter to my son, Tamati Te Ito. Greetings to you. Great is my love for you.

Hear this. The things you wrote about have been burnt in the fire. I burnt the shirt in the garden. As for the pipe, it was filled up with tobacco, and I put it inside the bag for you two to open. It heard perfectly well. I have filled that pipe and broken it.

Greetings.

That is all.

From me, Taituha<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas.

<sup>5</sup> Personal names were recorded with great variation of practice in the mid nineteenth century, and even now scholars tend to adopt different standards of presentation for Maori names than those used for English ones. In the case of Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke, the secondary (nineteenth century) literature never uses his third name, and it is found only rarely in subsequent works. In the Atkinson Letters, Tamati consistently signs himself Tamati Ngamoke, therefore the one word form of this name has been retained. Writers of letters to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke call him by various combinations of his names. In this study, Tamati's full name, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke, is used in commentary on the letters.

<sup>6</sup> Titus. Taituha was a recipient of nine letters (not reproduced here) between November 1859 and September 1865 to Te Poutoko pa, Hauranga, Warea, and, most frequently, Wairau (see map). All these places are mentioned in Letter 11, and seem to form the main body of places the correspondence of Tamati Ngamoke centres on. In 1844 Taituha told Commissioner Spain, who was conducting an inquiry into pre-Treaty land sales, that during the early sales he did not think of the implications of sale but of the attraction of the trade goods offered by Wakefield for land. He said he 'did not think of anything else, but put [the goods] on my shoulders and walked away.' Ann Parsonson, 'Nga whenua tautohetohe o Taranaki', 1991, p26.

## MS 31:11

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Waitara<sup>7</sup>

Kapoaiaia<sup>8</sup>

Hune 20th 1858

Haere atu ra e tenei reta ki Waitara, ki a Tamati Te Ito. Ka kite koe i a ia e oke ana i te ware, i tangi atu ki a ia, 'Tena koe, koutou ko au tamariki, ko tou hoa, ko tau kotiro, tena koutou.'

E hoa, tae mai matou ki Te Poutoko,<sup>9</sup> kaore matou i peka ki Te Kahakaha, ki Wairau,<sup>10</sup> Hauranga,<sup>11</sup> ki Puketehe,<sup>12</sup> ki Parawaha, ki Kaihihi.<sup>13</sup> ki Puketaua,<sup>14</sup> ki Mokotunu.<sup>15</sup> Kaore matou

<sup>7</sup> See map. This north Taranaki kainga was the scene of the fighting that opened the wars of the 1860s. The home of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, Waitara land was included in the sale agreed between Governor George Browne and Te Teira Manuka in 1859, but opposed by Wi Kingi and most other Maori. Martial law was declared in February 1860 and the area occupied by imperial troops. In March, fighting began. According to Keith Sinclair, Waitara was 'one of the most purchased areas in the country. It was 'purchased' in 1839 and 1840. It was to be 'purchased' again in 1859 and 1860, (paid for in blood during the wars), returned to the Maoris, and then confiscated in 1863, and bought from them again in 1873.' Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, 1974, p119.

<sup>8</sup> See map. Kapoaiaia was presumably on the Kapoaiaia river, near Waitara. Te Ikaroa-a-Maui at Kapoaiaia was the site of the first King Movement tollgate erected in Taranaki. Its list of tolls was copied by A. S. Atkinson (MS Papers 31:241). See also Benjamin Wells, *The History of Taranaki*, 1878, p237.

<sup>9</sup> See map. Te Poutoko was Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru's pa; *The Taranaki Herald*, 20 February 1858. It was at this pa that Robert Parris met Te Ua Haumene in late 1862, shortly after Te Ua had experienced the vision which was the foundation of the Hauhau or Paimarire faith. *AJHR* 1865, E No.4, p5, No.4, Parris to Col Sec., 8 Dec 1864. From 1858 the official F.D. Fenton made surveys of Maori population in the areas mentioned in this letter. For Te Poutoko to Hauranga 94 people were listed, 38 women and 56 men. F. D. Fenton, 'Observations on the state of the Aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand 1859.'

<sup>10</sup> See map.

<sup>11</sup> See map. Hauranga was near Warea, whose people in 1845 were involved in a short-lived experiment in religious enthusiasm, stemming from their reading of Christian scripture; Richard Taylor, *The Past and Present of New Zealand*, 1868, p142.

<sup>12</sup> See map. Puketehe was the site of a King Movement tollgate which was moved north to this location from Kapoaiaia. Wells 1878, p237.

<sup>13</sup> See map. After the battle of Waireka in March 1860 Kaihihi pa was occupied by government forces, and 200 men were stationed there to build stockades to protect the settlers, who had fled the area temporarily; Ian Church, *Heartland of Aotearoa*, 1992, p142.

<sup>14</sup> There were shops at Puketaua, Hauranga and Te Umuroa in this period; Church 1992, p123.

<sup>15</sup> According to Fenton (*op cit.*) there were 66 men and 41 women living in the Mokotunu-Hamapari area in 1858. The people of Mokotunu were renowned for their former skill in preserving heads, (a practice that was revived in the area by the Hauhau in 1864); Church 1992, p75. In April 1860 Mokotunu pa was pulled down but not burnt by government troops after the battle of Waireka in March 1860; *ibid.*, p142.

peka ki Warea<sup>16</sup> - ka mate matou ki reira, ka patua matou, kaore i peka. Noho rawa mai matou i Warau,<sup>17</sup> iara ta maua waewae ki reira.

Muri iho, maoa te kai, haere mai ki Kapoiaia, i wiki matou ki konei. E hoa, tena koe. Ko [o] te matua kaore i konei, ko nga wahine anake i mahue. Ko te tangata kua hui katoa kei Waitaha,<sup>18</sup> reira tu ai te tohu o te taua.

E hoa, tena koe, ka nui to matou aroha atu ko o matua ki a koe, no te mea na matou koe i wai pani atu i runga i te pakanga. Kei te mamae o matou ngakau ki a koe. E kui, e Mihi, tena korua to potiki.

E hoa, e Tamati, kua mate Taranaki mo to matou korenga e peka. Ka nui to ratou mate. Kua p te kupu [a] Aperā kia wai a muri [i] te timatanga. Ka karanga te taua, 'Kahore. Kaore e pai, kite wawe.'

Heoi ano enei kupu. Tena koe. Tena koe.

Naku tenei reta, na Ropata Totoinumia, na Wiremu Kingi, na Aperahama, na Te Reweti, Tamati Reina, na Ihaia, na Komene, na matou katoa.

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<sup>16</sup> See map. In April 1860 government troops cut down the flagpole and burned Warea pa and its canoes, leaving the house of the Wesleyan missionary Johannes Riemenschneider standing; Church 1992, p142. Fenton's census gives a population of 126 for Warea, 51 women and 75 men.

<sup>17</sup> See map. Te Wharau was also the name of one of the canoes in which the return to Taranaki from Wellington was made in 1848; Church 1992, p103.

<sup>18</sup> See map. Waitaha is a river. Waitaha was also the name of a kainga near Rahotu; Ailsa Smith, *Ko Toh Te Matua*, 1990, p45. According to Fenton's census, in 1858 there was a total population of 41 in the Waitaha to Pungaereere region, 24 men and 17 women.



## MS 31:11

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Waitara

Kapoaiaia

June 20th 1858<sup>19</sup>

Go, this letter, to Waitara, to Tamati Te Ito. As soon as you see him tossing and turning in the house, cry out to him, 'Greetings to you, your sons, your wife<sup>20</sup> and your daughter, greetings!'

Friend, when we got to Te Poutoko, we did not turn aside at Te Kahakaha, Wairau, Haurangi, Puketehe, Parawaha, Kaihihi, Puketapu or Mokotunu, we did not turn aside at Warea - we were in trouble there, and we were beaten; we did not turn aside.

We finally stopped at Te Warau; our foot was certainly there. Afterwards, we cooked food and came to Kapoaiaia, arriving on Sunday.

Friend, greetings. Our elders were not here, only the women remained. The men had all gathered at Waitaha, where the flag of the warparty stands.<sup>21</sup>

Friend, greetings. Great is ours and your elders' sorrow for you, because we left you alone on account of the fighting. Our hearts ache for you.

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<sup>19</sup>On 9 January 1858 Katatore, Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea's brother-in-law, was killed by Tamati Tiraupara, Ihaia Kirikumara's brother, and five unnamed others, partly as revenge for the killing of Rawiri Waiaua in 1854 that began the Puketapu feud, and possibly also because Katatore's offer to sell land at Waiongana was accepted, while Ihaia's of Ikamoana was neglected; Church 1991, p132. The death destabilised the community, and Percy Smith noted that he found a fortified pa on average every 16km between Waitotara and Omata. Each contained between one and two hundred people; *ibid.*, p132. In March 1858 the Assessor 'Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru esq', as he liked to be known, wrote to *The Taranaki Herald* to complain about a group of 'Taranaki natives' who had gone to Waitara to fight, following the death of Katatore. Te Ngahuru said that they had guns concealed in their carts under food that they were taking to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Paraiti. Te Ngahuru tried to talk the group out of going; *The Taranaki Herald* 27 March 1858. An earlier report, (*ibid.*, 20/2/58) said the group were travelling 'dressed in fighting costume, i.e. nothing'. The report also stated that Taranaki Maori south of Nga Motu were becoming involved in the feud, and were seen in the town carrying 'concealed weapons'. On the Puketapu feud see also Sinclair, 1974, pp125-131.

<sup>20</sup> Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke's wife's name was Mihi.

<sup>21</sup>Letters 12 and 13 also discuss this meeting.

Lady, Mihi, greetings to you and your youngest.

Friend Tamati, Taranaki are defeated by our failure to turn aside – they are totally defeated. Ape gave his opinion that we should follow behind in the beginning. The war party called out, 'No that's no good, soon you'll see.'

That is all of these words. Greetings. Greetings.

This letter is from me, Ropata Totoinumia,<sup>22</sup> and Wiremu Kingi,<sup>23</sup> Aperahama,<sup>24</sup> Te Reweti, Tamati Reina,<sup>26</sup> Ihaia,<sup>27</sup> Komene<sup>28</sup> - from us all.

<sup>22</sup> Ropata (Robert) Totoinumia was also known at the battle of Waireka in 1860 as Robert Erangi (Herangi), or Serancke, after the surveyor of that name; Church 1992, p141. Maori attributed their losses at Waireka to their having crossed the road that Erangi made tapu. Throughout the rest of the letters he is known as Ropata Ngarongomate, but in a letter to the official Robert Parris in 1862 he signed himself Ropata Te Rangikapuoho, which was his father's name; *AJHR* 1863, E4/10, No.31, Encl. 1, 2, p70. Te Rangikapuoho protested the sale of Omata land by occupying the land from 1850 to 1858, when he was bought out by the land commissioner Donald McLean. He subsequently lived at Tapuae, which was close to Okurukuru (see map); Church 1992, p90. Ngarongomate's sister married a Pakeha called Wellington Carrington, who lived at Te Poutoko. The pa there was associated with Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru, who called himself 'matua' to Ngarongomate and Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke; see Letter 19.

<sup>23</sup> There are two men named Wiremu Kingi (William King) in the letters: Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, who lived at Waitara in 1858, and Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea, whose pa was Te Umuroa. Te Matakatea, who is presumed to be the chief concerned in this letter, ran the shop and a school for 400 pupils which he supported by extensive crop growing; Church 1992, p123. He was the principal chief of the Ngati Haumi hapu of the Taranaki tribe. He was baptised with the names Wiremu Kingi by the Rev. John Mason in 1841. After the first war in Taranaki in 1860 he renounced the King and did not participate in the resumed war in 1863. He later became a supporter of the prophet Te Whiti, and in 1879 he took part in a ploughing campaign, for which he was arrested and sent to prison in Dunedin until October 1880. Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea died on 14 February 1893; *The People of Many Peaks 1769-1869*, 1990, pp209-210. The second Wiremu Kingi is Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, who was also baptised in the early 1840s. He was a Ngati Awa chief who returned in 1848 to Waitara from the exile in Waikanae that followed the wars with Waikato in the 1830s. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake was a leader of the opposition to the sale of Waitara. In 1859 governor Gore Browne accepted Te Teira's offer of Waitara over the objections of Wiremu Kingi, thus precipitating the war that began in Waitara in March 1860. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake did not sign the declaration of peace signed by his 'general', Hapurona Pukerimu, on 8 April 1861, and left Taranaki to live with Rewi Maniapoto in what became known as the King Country. After his return to Taranaki in 1872 he spent the closing years of his life at Parihaka pa, dying on 3 January 1882; *ibid.*, pp261-266. See also Footnote 128. The two chiefs combined to avenge the death of Katatore, but they allowed Ihaia, the chief who succeeded Rawiri Waiaua after the latter's death at the hands of Katatore, to escape and to live subsequently at Te Kaweka; see Letter 34.

<sup>24</sup> Abraham.

<sup>25</sup> Davis.

<sup>26</sup> Tamati Reina (Thomas Rayner), whose pa was Ketemarae, was an early Wesleyan convert and mission worker. In 1845 he saved the house of the Rev. William Woon from being destroyed by fire; Church 1992, p78. In September 1846 at the baptism of Hori Kingi Te Pakeke, Tamati Reina preached from Acts 23:1, his role on that day being to help 'admit' the 399 communicants; *Ibid.*, p81. Tamati Reina reflected

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sectarian prejudices of the day. When a Roman Catholic priest visited Ketemarae and claimed that Jesus was the head of the Catholic church, Reina quotes from scripture in reply: 'He that exalteth himself shall be abased.' *Ibid.*, p126. At Ketemarae in 1854, Tamati Reina provided the Rev. Richard Taylor with canoe traditions'; *Ibid.*, p146. Reina was a zealous early opponent of land sales who made a tour along the west coast from New Plymouth to Wellington soliciting support for the cessation of land sales; Thomas Buddle *The Maori King Movement*, Wellington, 1860, p5.

<sup>27</sup> Isaiah. Probably Ihaia Te Karawa; see Letter 24. Ihaia is described as a friend of Wiremu Kingi, along with Reweti (in this letter) and Henare Wirupe (or Wirape) (see Letter 17). *AJHR* 1866, 5A No.8, Encl.1, Report of Tamati Kaweora, Opunake, 22 April [n.d.]

<sup>28</sup> Komene had a mill on the Werekino stream (see map) at Puniho. It was destroyed by colonial troops in March 1860 - after they threshed the settlers' wheat; Church 1992, p96. According to an eyewitness, the troops also demolished Komene's pa, his three ploughs and two harrows; William Greenwood, *Riemenschneider of Warea*, 1967, p122.

## MS 31:12

Te Umuroa<sup>29</sup>

Hune 24th 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki toku tuakana ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. E hoa, tena koe, korua ko kotiro ko to waereere ko [o] matua ko [o] tuakana, e.

Tenei taku kupu, ki[a] rongo mai i to matou taenga mai ki Waitaha. Ka mutu te waewae, i waiwaikorero, ka mutu, ka takoto nga taonga, ka mutu, ka moe i reira, ka mutu.

I te ata ka timata te korero mo te wenua hei mahinga ma nga tamariki. Ko Maraeaute<sup>30</sup> te ingoa te wenua. Ki taku wakaaro kaore i oti pai. Ko te kore tenei e oti. Ko te kupu a Wi Tata i pene kati, ka rongo mai te Kaingarara, me hoki atu ano ki a ia. Ko te kupu tenei i ki ai au, kaore e oti. Ka mutu tenei.

I muri iho ka patai au ki te tikanga o te he. Ka timata i [sic] a Hemi Te Pua ko te rapunga i te wai i Waitaha. Ko Te Para, ko tetahi tamaiti, ko Matire, ko Hema, ko Hona - na ratou i rapu nga piharau, tunua, kainga. I kite ano ha Hemi, kaore ia i ki atu kia hakiria.

Muri iho ka rapua e Hemi Te Pua, kotahi tana ika, tunua, kainga.

Muri iho ko Te Ranapia. Ka korero i tona mahinga i te rarauhe hei wakaparu, kaore i wakaparua.

Muri iho ka heke ia ki te wai ki Pungaereere.<sup>31</sup> Mau mai i a ia e rua nga ika, tunu ana, kainga.

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<sup>29</sup> See map. Te Umuroa is associated with Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea. In 1846 it was described as a Church of England village; Church 1992, p75. It was later a wheat and potato growing centre, these crops supporting Kingi's college; *ibid.*, p94. In January 1857 Kingi's hapu were building a road 'for Maories and Europeans', and he requested 'ten picks' from the Provincial Superintendent; *ibid.*, p129. Fenton's census showed 57 men and 31 women between Te Umuroa and Te Takapu.

<sup>30</sup> This land was later gifted to the Kaingarara; see Letter 17.

<sup>31</sup> See map. On 14 April 1842, the Rev. John Skevington conducted his first baptismal service for ten candidates in Maori at Pungaerere; Church 1992, p43.

Muri iho ko Porana ki taua wai ano ki Pungaereere. I haere ia i titiro i tona wakaparu hei wakapa mana. Te hekenga iho ki te wai, ko nga piharau e rua, kotahi i mau, kotahi i pahure. Ko te mea mau i tunua, kainga e ia.

Muri iho ko Matena, ko te korero mo Okahu.<sup>32</sup> Ka mea mai ha Matena, kaore a ia i kite, i tamariki nana. Haere atu aua tamariki, e rua nga ika. Hoki noa mai ia, kua pau.

Muri iho ka haere atu nga kotiro ki te oi kai. Ka mau tetahi, ka tunua, ka pau. Kaore ia i kite. He tera.

Ka mea mai ratou, no taua te he; kaore e wakamarama ki a ratou.

Ka mea atu au, 'Kei ki koutou. Kaore maua i wai tikanga ka oi wai tikanga ano, no te mea, ki kite koutou i nga rohe. Kei Otaha<sup>33</sup> te rohe o runga, kei Waiohau to raro. Me mohio koutou tenei, kua tapu. Me mohio koutou ki te timatanga o nga runanga ko tona tohu ano tenei.'

Katahi au ka mea atu ki a ratou kia wakamutua. Katahi au ka karanga atu ki a ratou, 'E kore ran koutou e pai kia wakamutua?'

Ka mea mai ratou, 'E pai ana, e pai ana.'

Ka mutu, ka karangatia e au ki a ratou, 'Ki[a] rongo mai koutou. Ko Otaha te rohe ki runga, ko Toroti Pua o te Toroti te rohe ki raro. Ko nga wai, kaua koutou e pa ki reira engari te moana me makamaka - ki a koutou ena. Ko te ika pae - kaua.'

Naku ano taua kupu mo te ika pae i penei ai taku kupu kaore i puta mai i a koe ki a au, otira ki matou katoa. Otira e hoa, ko taua kupu ka tu i a au mo nga wahi katoa kia kaua te ika pae tangohia.

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<sup>32</sup> See map. The Okahu stream mouth was known as Harriet Beach after the ship that beached there on 29 April 1834; Church 1992, p14. Okahu was also the name of a pa near Pungaereere; Church 1992, p143.

<sup>33</sup> See map.

Haere mai mato[u] ki Te Takapu.<sup>34</sup> Po rua ki reira, i te ata ka haere ki Moutoti.<sup>35</sup> Ka tae mai mā ki reira ka korerotia e au ki a Hohaia mo te he o Tipene ki te makanga, kotahi te tamure, kotahi kahawai. Muri iho, e rima, e ono ranei nga tarao. Ka mea atu au, 'E kore ranei koutou e pai wakakahoretia?

Ka mea mai ratou, 'E pai ana.' Ka mutu tera.

Ka ki atu au ki a ratou, 'Ko Waiwiri<sup>36</sup> te rohe ki runga, ko Otaha te rohe ki raro. Kaua koutou makamaka, engari nga pupu, nga paua.'

Ka mea atu au, ka hiakai ki te ika me haere ki Te Namu.<sup>37</sup> Ka tae ki reira, ka kai te ika, ka ora Takapu. Ka hoki ki tona kainga, kaua e tango ika ki tona kainga. Kaua e puta ki te moana i roto enei rohe, i Waiwiri, i Otaha. Kaua e makamaka, otira ka karangatia e au kia rongo nga tangi katoa ko te wai, ara ko nga wai katoa, ko te tuawenua. Ko nga tangata o reira he papapa mokomoko he weta he ngarara; te tuakana o aua mea he makutu.'

Otira e hoa, ko nga korero enei o to matou taenga mai. Otira, mau e wakamarama mai te tikan mo Waitaha, mo Pungaereere, mo Okahu ki a matou ko nga tamariki, te peheatanga ranei me Moutoti hoki, haunga ia te mutunga o ta ratou mahi. Kua mutu. Ko te kore ratou e mahi, ko te kore ratou e makamaka.

E hoa, tena koe. Ka nui to matou aroha atu ko nga tamariki ki a koe. Kona ra, me o taua matou Kua riro tonu matou ki tua. E wiki matou ki Watino.<sup>38</sup> Kei te Mane ka haere.

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<sup>34</sup> See map.

<sup>35</sup> See map. Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea refused Bishop Selwyn's request for land for a church at Moutoti but he later proposed to subscribe to the maintenance of a clergyman; Church 1992, p125.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Taylor collected a proverb about this place, which was surrounded by flax: E kore Taranaki e ngaro; he harakeke to ngai nui, no roto no Waiwiri, 'Taranaki cannot be destroyed; flax is its forest, inland to Waiwiri'. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1870, p315.

<sup>37</sup> See map. In 1834 one of the party effecting the rescue of Betty Guard and her children, survivors of the wreck of the *Harriett*, described this pa as having two entrances, one of which was hidden, the other being reached by climbing a notched stake; Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p259. Te Namu figures prominently in Taranaki history. In 1833 the pa was repeatedly assaulted by Waikato, in whose defence Wiremu Kingi earned the name Matakatea 'clear-eyed' for his marksmanship with what some claim was the sole musket on the Taranaki side; John Houston, *Maori Life in Old Taranaki*, 1965, pp62-65.

<sup>38</sup> See map.

Heoi ano.

Na tou teina aroha, na Ropata Totoinumia

## MS 31:12

Te Umuroa, June 24th 1858

Go, my letter, to my elder brother, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. Friend, greetings to you, you and your daughter, your wife, your elders and your older brothers.

This is my word to inform you of our arrival at Waitaha. When the dances finished there was a formal discussion.<sup>39</sup> After that the presents were laid down and once that had finished we slept.

Then after that in the morning the talk began about the land to be worked by the children. The name of the land is Maraeaute. In my opinion it was not resolved satisfactorily. This will not be resolved. Witata's<sup>40</sup> word was as follows: 'Stop! The Kaingarara will hear. We had better return to him. This is the opinion I said will not be resolved. This ended it.

Next I asked about the nature of the error. Hemi<sup>41</sup> Te Pua began the search by the stream at Waitaha – Te Para,<sup>42</sup> one child, Matire, Hema,<sup>43</sup> Hona<sup>44</sup> – they sought out the lamprey,<sup>45</sup> which were roasted and eaten. Hemi saw them; he did not say they should be thrown away.

After that Hemi Te Pua looked for them. He had one fish, which was roasted and eaten.

After that Te Ranapia<sup>46</sup> spoke of his getting bracken for a lamprey weir,<sup>47</sup> but it was not made into a weir. After that he went down to the stream at Pungaereere. He caught two fish, which were roasted and eaten.

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<sup>39</sup> It was common in the nineteenth century for displays of haka to precede the speaking at political hui. See e.g. *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, Vol.8, No.17, 11 Sept 1879, p109ff.

<sup>40</sup> Witata was Wiremu Te Tata, also known as Wiremu Tana Ngatata. Witata was the son of Ngatata-i-te-rangi. Witata and his sister Ngapei (see Letter 67) lived in Taranaki; the rest of the family remained in Wellington, where his brother Wi Tako and Hemi Parai (see Letter 64) owned 142 acres of land; *The People of Many Peaks 1769-1869*, 1990, pp71-72. In 1860, Witata fought against the government, being accused by the settlers of several atrocities; *The Taranaki Herald*, 1 Sept 1860.

<sup>41</sup> James.

<sup>42</sup> Burrows.

<sup>43</sup> Shem.

<sup>44</sup> Jonah.

<sup>45</sup> In 1849 Charles Hursthouse described lamprey as one of four freshwater fish species found in Taranaki and said it was 'remarkably rich and fine-flavoured.' Charles Hursthouse, *New Plymouth*, 1849, p24.



After that Porana<sup>48</sup> was also at that stream at Pungaereere. He went and looked at his lamprey weir. When he went down to the stream there were two lampreys. He caught one and one escaped. The one he caught he roasted and ate.

After that Matena<sup>49</sup> [spoke]. He spoke about Okahu. He said he did not see because he had children [with him]. Those children went off, and there were two fish. When he returned they had been consumed. Afterwards the girls went out to catch muttonbird. They caught one, which was roasted and consumed. He did not see them. That's that.

They said it is you and I who are at fault; we do not explain it to them.

I said, 'Don't you say that we did not have these muttonbird rights. You've seen the boundaries. The southern boundary is at Otaha and the northern boundary is at Waiohau. You ought to know that this is reserved. You should know that at the beginning of the councils this was its marker.'

Then I said to them that they should put a stop to it. Then I called out to them, 'Are you willing not to put a stop to it?'

And they said, 'We are willing. We are willing.'

When they had finished I called out to them, 'Hear this! Otaha is the southern boundary, Te Pua Te Torōti is the northern boundary. As for the streams, don't you make weirs there - however the sea and fishing with lines - those are for you. As for the stranded fish, do not ignore [the decision].'

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<sup>46</sup> A Rev. Lanfear travelled overland to Taranaki with G.S. Cooper in 1849-1850. According to Cooper, Maori at Kaweranga mission station on the Mataparu creek found Lanfear's name a 'puzzle': 'they at last hit upon Ranapia, which was the nearest approach they could make to the sound of the English word.' G.S. Cooper, *Journal of an Expedition Overland from Auckland to Taranaki by way of Rotorua, Taupo and the West Coast undertaken in the summer of 1849 to 1850 by His Excellency the Governor in Chief of New Zealand*, 1851, p8.

<sup>47</sup> Lamprey weirs were made of stones, and lined with ferns and grass. They were erected along river banks in March. Lamprey travel upstream between May and August, keeping close to the banks to avoid the midstream currents. They were captured when they rested against the ferns of the weir, to which they attached themselves with their mouths; Elsdon Best, *Fishing Methods and Devices of the Maori*, 1986, pp189-198.

<sup>48</sup> Transliteration; unknown.

<sup>49</sup> Martin.

That was my own word about the stranded fish which went like this.<sup>50</sup> You did not give it to me or to us all. But, my friend, that word was established by me for all places – stranded fish should not be taken away.'

We came to Te Takapu. We stayed two nights there; in the morning we went to Moutoti and when we got there I spoke to Hohaia<sup>51</sup> about Tipene's<sup>52</sup> mistake regarding fishing – one snapper, or kahawai.<sup>53</sup> Afterwards there were five or six kelpfish. I said, 'Are you willing or not for it to be stopped?'

They said, 'We are willing.' That ends that.

I said to them, 'Waiwiri is the southern boundary and Otaha is the northern boundary. Don't you fish with hook and line, however, [take] the pupu and paua.'

I said, 'When someone wants to eat fish, he had better go to Te Namu. When he gets there, he eats fish and Te Takapu will be safe. When he returns to his home, he is not to bring fish to his village. Do not put to sea within these boundaries from Waiwiri from Otaha. Do not cast out a line, however, I will call out so that all the people are aware of the stream, that is, all the streams, to the mainland. The people of that place are stink roaches,<sup>54</sup> skinks, wetas, lizards; the older brother of these things is sorcery.'

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<sup>50</sup> Translation conjectural.

<sup>51</sup> Josiah.

<sup>52</sup> Stephen.

<sup>53</sup> Te Atiawa had a ceremony to attract kahawai which involved scattering sand, the mauri for kahawai, or the water. When the majority of people moved to Port Nicholson in the 1830s they found that there were no kahawai there, so they had sand brought from Waiongana in hopes of attracting the fish. S. Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast*, 1984, p202. Kahawai feature in Taranaki traditional history. See, e.g., *ibid.*, pp214-215, pp240-242.

<sup>54</sup> Alternatively, woodlouse, slater, a black wood bug or tiger beetle; Herbert Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 1975, p259. Cf. Hori Kiwi, Aperahama, Wi Te Awi, Tamati Hone, Rawenata, Wiremu Patene, Timotiu, Kewetona, Aperahama, Te Waaka, Rawiri, Wiremu Kingi, Horomona, Te Rei Hanataua, Te Wunu, Pita Taramakau, Te Harawira, Rameka, Wiremu Nera and Matiu to Parris, 24 Oct 1857, Keteonetea; *AJHR* 1861, C1, pp218-219. In this document similar creatures are said to be the guardians of 'sacred places': Ko nga kaitiaki o te wahi tapu he ngarara, he weta, he pungawerewere, he taniwha, he mokonui, 'The guardians of sacred places are reptiles, wetas, spiders, sharks and lizards.'

Well, my friend, these are the accounts of our coming here. But it is for you to explain to me :  
the children the decision about Waitaha, Pungaereere, and Okaha, or what is to be done, :  
concerning Moutoti also, besides the stopping of their work. It has stopped. They will not do  
they will not fish with a line.

Friend, greetings. Great is mine and the children's love for you. Farewell, and our elders. We v  
go over there to the other side. We have gone over the back. We'll be at Watino on Sunday. :  
Monday we leave.

That's all.

From your loving younger brother,

Ropata Totoinumia

## MS 31:224

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Waitara e noho ana

Te Umuroa, Hune 24

Haere ra e ta matou pukapuka aroha ki to matou nei matua aroha. E koro, tena korua ko to waereere me to potiki. Ka nui to matou aroha atu ki a koutou ko [o] tamariki.

E hoa, ka nui to matou tangi atu ki a koe. E hoa, kua eke mai matou ki Te Umuroa, ki to tatou kainga.

Noho mai ra e tama, koutou ko [o] matua, i runga i te pakanga.

E hoa, kua korero maua ko Ropata ki a Te Tuhi i Warea, kua korero mai [i]a ki a maua. Kua ki mai a Te Tuhi, 'Kei te ngakau te w[a]kaaro.'

Ka ki atu maua, 'Heoi ano.' Kahore hoki maua i ki atu no te mea hoki e kore e rua kupu mo te tangata kotahi ano.

E hoa, kua rongo au ki te ritenga mo nga tamariki. E mea ana ratou kia mahi tena tamaiti i tona kainga, i tona kainga. Ka puta taku w[ha]kaaro, 'E pai ana, hei te rangitahi<sup>55</sup> nga kainga, hei nohoanga, hei mahinga hoki.

Heoi ano ta tatou nei mahi kei nga kainga i w[a]karitea mo tatou, he tuturu moutanga mo tatou. E tama ma, ko Te Umuroa, ko Waitaha. Ki te marama mai a Waitaha i a ia ka noho tatou ki Waitaha.

'Waiho ra kei to tatou matua te w[ha]kaaro. Me mahi tatou ki nga kainga katoa, e pai ana. Mana e ki mai e rua kainga, e pai ana, ko Te Umuroa, ko Waitaha.' <sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Read as rangatahi.

<sup>56</sup> Most of the letters to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke are addressed to Te Whanga pa in Waitara, suggesting that this was his main place of residence.

Heoi ano.

Na tau hoa aroha, na Ihaia Te Karawa

**MS 31:224**

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke living at Waitara

Te Umuroa, June 24<sup>57</sup>

Go our loving letter to our beloved elder. Old friends, greetings to you and your wife and your youngest child. How great is our love for you and your children.

Friend, how we weep for you. Friend, we have come up to Te Umuroa, to our home.

Son, you and your elders, live there on account of the strife.

Friend, Ropata and I have spoken with Te Tuhi at Warea and he with us. Te Tuhi said, 'The heart will decide.'

We said, 'Very well.' We did not speak because there are not two words for the one man.

Friend, I have heard of the policy for the children. They say that each child should work in his own village. In my opinion, it is good that the villages be places to live and work for the young people.

Our entire work is in the villages arranged as permanent bases for us. O sons: Te Umuroa and Waitaha. If he makes clear it is Waiaha, we will live at Waitaha. Leave the decision to our elder. If we are to work in all the villages, all right. If he should say two villages, all right – Te Umuroa and Waitaha.

That's all.

From your loving friend, Ihaia Te Karawa

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<sup>57</sup> Four other letters by Ihaia Te Karawa have dates in 1858, making it likely that this letter was also written in that year. See Letter 68, 10 December 1859, for a discussion of whether the main runanga should be located at Waitaha or Te Umuroa.

## MS 31:13

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Waitara

Waitaha pa<sup>58</sup>

Hune 25 1858

E hoa, e Tamati Te Ito, tena ra koe. Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe, na te mea kua waiho atu e au koe. I runga i te he koutou ko [o] matua.

E tama, wakarongo mai ki taku kupu. No to matou taenga mai ki Waitaha, ka tu te komiti, ka timata te runanga. Ka karanga, 'E nga tangata o Te Takapu, o Te Ahoroa, o Pukerimu, o Waitaha, huihui katoa mai tatou ki konei kia korero mai koutou i te ritenga o muri i a au.'

Kei runga ko Te Rei, ka korero ano ia i ana kupu, mo runga i te taonga te ritenga o ana kupu. Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Penchamene, ka haere te ritenga o tana korero i tona putanga ki te moana i Te Poutoko. I tona hokinga mai ki Taranaki nei ka puta ano ia ki te moana, ka patua mai e Ropata. Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Hemi, ka korero ia i tana ritenga mo te wai, mo tana rapunga. Ka karanga, 'Wakarongo mai e te runanga. Ko taku he ki [a] au anake. Kaua te tangata hei rere mai ki taku ritenga.'

Ka wak[a]ae te runanga, 'Hae.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Porana, ka korero ia i tona pohehetanga. Ka haere ia ki te wai, ka tae i tana hurihanga ake i te kohatu ka rere nga piharau e 2. Ka hopungia e ia, ka mou. Ka mutu.

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<sup>58</sup> According to Letters 24, 35, 45 and 48 the pa at Waitaha was called Te Hauwai. It is therefore unclear whether 'Waitaha' is the name of a pa or the name of a place.

Kei runga ko Te Ranapia, ko taua ritenga ano. Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Matena, ko taua ritenga ano mo te wai. 'Kia rongo mai koe. He wakaparu ki enei wai? Kahore. Ko enei i korerotia nei kei roto i te ritenga o ta Hemi. Kua rongona koe he mea rapu noa iho.'

Ka mutu era korero. Wakarongo mai hoki koe ki tenei korero. E wakarongo ana nga tangata o Tipoka.<sup>59</sup>

Kei runga ko Neha, ka korero ia i te ritenga o tona kainga. Ka mea ia, ehara i a ia te he, 'No Poharama, tamaiti o te Kaingarara, te he. Akuanei ka kitea e mau ana i nga rarauhe ki te wai.'

Ka ki atu ia, 'E tama. Hei aha tena?'

Ka mea mai taua tangata, 'Hei otaota ki te wai.'

Ka karanga atu ia, 'Kahore.'

No to ratou haerenga ki waho, hoki rawa mai ratou, kua oti. Ko to taua wakaparu takoto noa iho, a, na Rupena i pakaru, no te mea e tupato ana ratou ki nga tikanga kua korerotia i mua. No konei ka titiro nga tamariki o te Kaingarara ki te tikanga a Neha, ki te marama o tana wakaaro.

Ka puta te kupu a Ropata: 'E tika ana, na matou ano i wakararuraru na te Kaingarara.'

Ka karanga mai a Ropata ki a au, 'Ko tenei, e Wi, mau te mahinga ki to tamaiti.'

Hoi ano, ka mutu.

Naku, na Wiremu Te Tata.

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<sup>59</sup> See map. Tipoka's population was registered in 1858 as 84, 31 women and 53 men; Fenton 1859. In April of 1860 the pa was pulled down by government troops but not burnt; Church 1992, p142.



## MS 31:13

To Tamati Te Ito at Waitara

Waitaha pa

June 25 1858

Friend, Tamati Te Ito, greetings to you. Great is my yearning for you, because I have left you. You and your elders are in error.

Son, listen to what I have to say. When we reached Waitaha the committee assembled and the council began. I called, 'O people of Te Takapu, Te Ahoroa, Pukerimu and Waitaha, we have all gathered here for you to tell us the way after I am gone.'

Te Rei<sup>60</sup> got up and spoke his words again; the focus of his words was the precious things.<sup>61</sup> He finished.

Penehamene<sup>62</sup> got up. The nature of his talk was his putting to sea at Te Poutoko. When he returned here to Taranaki he again went to sea and was struck by Ropata. He finished.

Hemi got up and he spoke of his way respecting the stream, concerning his searching. He called, 'Listen O council. The error was mine alone. Let no-one be in a hurry to follow my example.'

The meeting agreed, 'Yes.' He finished.

Porana got up. He spoke of his mistaken thinking. He went to the stream and when he got there he turned his stone over and two lampreys escaped. He caught them and kept them. He finished.

Te Ranapia got up and it was that same situation. He finished.

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<sup>60</sup> Reay, (probably Te Rei Hanataua) after a Church of England missionary who visited Taranaki with Bishop Selwyn in 1842; Church 1992, p54.

<sup>61</sup> Letter 25 describes the taonga as a flax cape and a feather ear ornament.

Matena got up and it was that same method concerning the stream. Hear me. Are there weirs in these streams? No. These things were spoken of in Hemi's method. You have heard that he only searched.

That concludes those speeches.

Also hear this report. The people of Tipoka were listening. Neha got up and he spoke of the situation of his settlement. He said the fault did not lie with him but with Poharama, child of the Kaingarara.<sup>63</sup> Presently he was seen carrying bracken to the stream. He [Neha] said, 'Son, what is that for?'

That man said, 'For green matter at the stream.'

He called out, 'No!'

When they went out they came straight back, as it had been completed. Our weir just lay there and it was Rupena<sup>64</sup> who destroyed it because they were mindful of the decision which had been spoken of before. Hence the children of the Kaingarara looked to Neha's decision and to the clarity of his thought.

Ropata pronounced, 'It is right. We ourselves, the Kaingarara, caused the trouble.'

Ropata called out to me, 'Well then, Wi, it is for you to deal with your son!'

Well, that's all.

From me, Wiremu Te Tata

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<sup>62</sup> Benjamin.

<sup>63</sup> While Poharama is described as a 'child', there was an adult of this name who had been involved in land negotiations in the 1840s. See, e.g., Donald McLean Papers, MS32:668, Poharama, Wiremu Kawaho, Eruera Te Puke, Hoani Ropiha, Piripi Hapimana, Wiremu Tana and Wiremu Kingi to Governor, 14 December 1844, Nga Motu. The letters often refer to Kaingarara followers as 'children'. It is not clear whether these 'children' were in fact young people or whether the term was used in sense analogous to 'the children of God.'

<sup>64</sup> Reuben.

## MS 31:14

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Hurae 8 1858

Ki Paraeiti<sup>65</sup>

Ki a Tamati

E tama, e Tamati, tena koe. Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe.

Kia rongo mai koe. He kupu taku ki a koe kia whakamaramatia mai e koe te ritenga mo nga mea katoa. Na, ko ahau hoki, ka noho ahau ki Warea, ka puta ahau ki te moana. Na, ka hoki au ki Te Wharau, ka puta ano ahau ki te moana.

Na, whakarongo mai, e tama. Ko taku raruraru tenei, no te mea ko tenei ritenga e nui ana ki o matou pa, ki Te Wharau, ki Kapoaiaia, no konei ahau i tuhituhi atu ki a koe. Mau e whakamarama mai kia marama ai au.

Na, whakarongo mai. Tenei hoki etahi no te me[a] i mua i a koe i konei kahore matou i rongo ki enei ritenga mahamaha noa iho. Kotahi ano te mea e mohio ai matou. Ko tatou i korero iho ai, ko te moana, kaua e puta ki tua o te rohe te waka. Na, engari tenei e mohio ana au, he he.

Na, ko te ritenga mo nga wai, mo etahi atu mea, katahi matou ka rongo ki Taranaki i hoki mai i Waitara.

Na, koia ahau i tuhituhi atu ai kia whakamaramatia mai e koe ki a au enei mea katoa.

Ka mutu.

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<sup>65</sup> According to what Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke told Percy Smith, Paraiti (or Paraeiti) was a fortified pa in the 1840s; Percy Smith, 'Clairvoyance amongst the Maori', *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)* vol.29, 1920, pp149-161. Paraiti (see map) was a 50 acre reserve established out of the sale of the Te Hua block in 1854 by the Puketapu people of Nga Motu. Tamati was a signatory to this sale, as were Poharama Te Te Whiti (see Letter 14), and Rawiri Waiaua; H.H. Turton, H.H., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases*, vol.2 part one, 1878, pp25-27. In 1873 part of this reserve was sold for one pound to the Minister of Public Works for the Waitara to New Plymouth railway; *ibid.*, pp 35-36.

Naku, na Poharama o Te Wharau pa.

## MS 31:14

To Tamati Te Ito

July 8 1858

To Paraciti

To Tamati

Son, Tamati, greetings to you. Great is my love for you.

Hear this. My word to you is that you should explain the ruling with respect to everything. As for me, when I stayed at Warea I put to sea. Then when I returned to Te Wharau I put to sea again.

So, listen here, son. This is my problem, because this ruling is so important to our pa, Te Wharau and Kapoaiaia. I have, therefore, written to you. Will you explain it to me so that I am certain.

Listen here. These are some of them - because before you were here we did not know of these numerous regulations. There was only one thing we knew. We just said that as for the sea, do not take the canoe past the boundary. However, this I know to be wrong.

Now, about the rulings for the streams and other things – we now hear of Taranaki that they have returned from Waitara.<sup>66</sup> So that is why I have written to you so that you will explain all of these things to me.

The end.

From me, Poharama of Te Wharau pa.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> An article in *The Taranaki Herald* for 20 February 1858 reported that at that time armed Taranaki people were passing through New Plymouth on their way to Paraiti, where Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke was living, and Waitara. Although there was an Ordinance in force banning Maori from carrying arms in town, it was ignored.

<sup>67</sup> Poharama [Te Whiti], who appears to have been named for a Ngati Awa ancestor who was buried at Pukeariki, was a Nga Motu chief who was taken by Waikato to Kawhia and returned to Taranaki in 1840; Percy Smith, 1984, pp498-500. Wells records that in 1873-4 Poharama told him that 'that was no longer his name, for he had joined Israel.' Wells 1878., p11. Poharama Te Whiti was probably at this time a follower of his younger kinsman Erueti Te Te Whiti (Te Whiti-o-rongomai).

## MS 31:15

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Paeraiti<sup>68</sup>

Hurae 12 1858

Owhangai<sup>69</sup>

Haere ra e taku reta, kawea atu toku aroha ki taku tamaiti, ki a Tamati Te Ito. E tama, tena ra koe, ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe.

E tama, kia rongo mai koe. He kupu taku ki a koe, ko te hoiho o ho tuahine kua riro i Ngati Ruanui. I tangohia ai hei utu mo ta ratou tamaiti i taka iho i runga i taua hoiho.

Ka mea atu au ki a ratou, 'E hoa ma, tena koa, ata rapu marire tatou: na te hoiho ranei te mate o taua tamaiti, kahore ranei?'

He mate tawhito ano pea, otira ia mau tenei e titiro mai. Ko taku whakaaro hoki kei runga ano. Kei te mate tawhito te ritenga o taua tamaiti.

E tama, tenei hoki tetahi o aku kupu ki a koe. I te turanga o te hui a Te Kaaka<sup>70</sup> ki Owhangai kaore au i tango i te hakarameta. Ko nga tangata anake i tango, he whakaaro noku ki taku tikanga ano mou i toku taenga atu ki a koe i Te Karokaro.

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<sup>68</sup> See map. Usually spelt Paraiti, Paraeti.

<sup>69</sup> See map. Also spelt Ohangai. Percy Smith, who visited Owhangai in 1858, later reported, 'I fear that there is not so much of the old pa left, as I knew it in 1858, when I spent a Sunday there with my companions on our return from Taupo. At that time it was a fully palisaded pa, with excellent carvings, full of people under Te Hanataua (I think that was his name), who insisted on the pa being kept neat and clean. It was certainly the most beautiful pa I ever saw, with delightful views over the distant country. Karaka trees grew in the pa and cast a fine shade. The next time I saw Ohangai was in 1867, when I went there with Colonel McDonnell in order to receive the submission of some of the Hauhau, who handed over a lot of useless old firearms. The palisading and houses were all gone, indeed I think our troops had burned the place.' Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori*, Wellington, Govt. Printer, 1975, pp275-276. See also Smith, 1984, p506. The area around Owhangai was a prosperous wheat-growing centre. In 1857 the Rev. Richard Taylor found that the people had begun to believe that the death of the Wesleyan missionary Skevington and the illness of William Woon were caused by the people's touching bewitched stones. Ohangai later became a centre of Hauhau belief. It was destroyed in 1866 by General Chute and was not subsequently re-occupied; Ian Church, *Historic Sites and Technological Change in South Taranaki*, 1983, p67.

Ko tetehi, ko taku mate. Ahakoa te roa ai koe ko taku whakaaro e mau tonu ana ki a koe.

Heoti [a]no.

Na tou matua aroha, na Patoromu Te Karapu.

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<sup>70</sup> Kirk. Rev. W. Kirk was a Wesleyan who occasionally held services on the Waimate plains; Church, 1992, p125. Ohangai was included on a list made by Rev. Woon of places whose teachers needed bells; *ibid.*, p82.

MS 31:15

To Tamati Te Ito at Paeraiti

July 12 1858

Owhangai pa

Go my letter, carry my love to my son, Tamati Te Ito. Son, greetings to you. Great is my love for you.

Son, listen here. I have a word for you. The horse belonging to your sisters has been taken away by Ngati Ruanui. It was taken as payment for their son who fell off that horse.

I said to them, 'Friends, very well, let us consider carefully: was the horse the cause of that injury, or not?',<sup>71</sup>

Perhaps it was an old injury. However, this is for you to look into. My opinion is as above. The situation of that boy is that it is an old injury.

Son, this is another of my words to you. When Mr Kirk's meeting was held at Owhangai, I did not receive the sacrament.<sup>72</sup> Only the people [of the church] received it. For I remembered my decision for you when I came to you at Te Karokaro.

Another thing is my sickness. No matter how long [you're away] I will still believe in you.

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<sup>71</sup> Letters including references to horses are found throughout the Atkinson Collection, although only one other (Letter 47) appears in the Te Ito correspondence. Horses were symbols of wealth and power. In the 1860s the Taranaki soldier and prophet Titokowaru, for example, 'had a great white horse, Niu Tirene (New Zealand), which both Maori and Pakeha held in some awe'; *The People of Many Peaks*, 1991, p145. The South Island prophet Te Maiharoa, who had Kaingarara associations also made a ceremonial entry to Koukourarata on a white horse; Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land*, 1998, p9. Percy Smith described those involved in a tapu removal ceremony he witnessed as 'horsemen'. *JPS* 1920, Vol.29, p 151. Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke is said to have gone to Sydney in 1858 to earn money to buy the late Rawiri Waiaua's white horse; Smith 1920, p152.

<sup>72</sup> At Waitotara, the Wesleyan Rev. George Stannard expelled anyone who followed Tamati Te Ito from the church fellowship; Church 1992, p127. Richard Taylor excluded from the sacrament people 'dealing with wahi tapu'; Janet Murray, 'A missionary in action' in Peter Munz, ed., *The Feel of Truth*, 1969, p214. The Rev. Johann Wohlers on Ruapuke island did the same; Mikaere 1998, p50.



That's all.

From your loving elder

Patoromu<sup>73</sup> Te Karapu

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<sup>73</sup> Bartholomew. In 1847 'Bartholomew' of Ohangai was one of a number of christian teachers needing bells; Church 1992, p82.

## MS 31:17

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Whanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

Hurae 31 1858 tau

Ko te ritenga mo te runanga ki Waitaha mo te whenea.<sup>74</sup>

Ka karanga tona tangata, 'Whakarongo mai e te Kaingarara, ka tukua atu e au te whenua mou hei whenua tupu mou, ake ake ake. Ko te tuatahi, ko Maraeaute. Muri iho ko Te Iwituwaka. Te rohe o tai, haere ki Te Tahua, haere ki Waihi, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki uta, haere ki Te Puna, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki te tonga, haere i runga o Maraeaute, haere ki Waitaha, ka mate, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki tai, ka haere, ka tutaki i te rohe o tai. Ka mutu enei whenua.

'E wenua ano tenei, ko Mangaro. Te rohe o tai haere ki te tonga ki Waitaha. Ka mutu. Ka ahu ki uta haere ki Te Waimoko,<sup>75</sup> te rohe o uta, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki Te Whakarua ka tae ki Te Pa Ngaio.<sup>76</sup> Ka ahu ki tai, ka tutaki ki Mangaroa ki te rohe o tai. Ka mutu enei whenua.

'Ka whiti tetahi taha o Waitaha, ko Witikua<sup>77</sup> te rohe o uta, haere ki te tonga ki Aratotara,<sup>78</sup> ka mutu. Ka ahu ki tai, haere, ka tae ki te moana, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki te muriwai o Waitaha, ka mutu. Ka ahu ki uta ka haere ka tutaki i te rohe o uta ki Witikua.'

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<sup>74</sup> Whenea = whenua.

<sup>75</sup> See map.

<sup>76</sup> See map. Pa Ngaio was also known as Te Ngaio or Kakaramea; James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 1983, Vol. 2, p54.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly Whitikau; see map.

<sup>78</sup> Aratotara was also the name of one of the canoes in which the return to Taranaki from Wellington was made in 1848; Wells 1878, p146.

Ka mutu nga wenua i homai e nga tangata o Waitaha i roto i te runanga. Ka mea te kupu a Witata, a Te Munu, a Erana, a Irara, a Hemi, a Te Waitere, a nga wahine, a nga tamariki, nga tangata katoa; whakaae katoa ratou ki te whenua kia homai mo te Kaingarara.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Te Watarauhi, kaiwhakawa tuatahi. Kahore ona hoa; tona hoa ko Wirape, karaka, kaituhituhi, kaitiaki.

## MS 31:17

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Te Whanga pa, Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

July 31, year 1858

The policy of the council at Waitaha with regard to the land.

His man called out, 'Listen here, Kaingarara. I have given the land for you as your own land forever. The first [area] is Maraeaute. Afterwards Te Iwituwaka is the coastal boundary thence to Te Tahua, thence to Waihi where it finishes, it turns inland thence to Te Puna where it ends it turns south thence on top of Maraeaute thence to Waitaha where it runs out and ends and turns thence to the coast and meets the coastal boundary. That ends these lands.

'This is another area: Mangaro is the coastal boundary, thence south to Waitaha where it ends, turning inland thence to Te Waimoko where the inland boundary ends. Turning to Te Whakarua and reaching to Te Pa Ngaio it turns to the coast and meets the coastal boundary at Mangaroa. That ends these lands.

'Crossing one side of Waitaha, Witikua is the inland boundary, thence south to Aratotara where it finishes and turns to the coast thence it reaches the sea where it ends and turns to Te Muriwai of Waitaha where it ends, it turns inland and thence meets with the inland boundary at Witikua.'

That ends the lands given by the people of Waitaha in the council. So says the word of Witata, Te Munu,<sup>79</sup> Erana,<sup>80</sup> Iraia,<sup>81</sup> Hemi, Te Waitere,<sup>82</sup> the women, the children, all the people, they entirely agree that the land should be given for the Kaingarara.

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<sup>79</sup> Moon.

<sup>80</sup> Eran.

<sup>81</sup> Irad.

<sup>82</sup> Whiteley, after the Wesleyan missionary John Whiteley who was stationed at New Plymouth, and who died at the hands of the Hauhau in 1868; Wells 1878, pp286-287.

Well, that's all.

From Te Watarauhi,<sup>83</sup> Chief Judge. He has no colleagues; his colleague is Wirape Karaka,<sup>84</sup> writer and witness.

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<sup>83</sup> In 1842 Epiha (Jabeez) Te Watarauhi (Waterhouse, after the Wesleyan superintendent ) was described by a Wesleyan missionary as a 'young Nga Motu chief' in 1842; Church 1992, p43. A Te Watarauhi, along with Wiremu Kingi and other Ngati Awa chiefs wrote to Governor FitzRoy in 1844 complaining about commissioner's Spain's award and about settlers wanting Waitara, which they said they had not sold. *AJHR* 1861, E No.1, No.10, p19. Hapurona Pukerimu signed a declaration of peace on 8 April 1861 on behalf of 72 people, including Te Watarauhi. *AJHR* 1861, E No.1B, No.3, p5.

<sup>84</sup> Wilbur Clark.

## MS 31:18

Huirangi

Akuhata 24th 1858

Haere atu e taku reta ki Te Wanga, ki a Tamati Te Ito. Tena koe.

Kaore au i te mohio ki te kupu i haere atu ana a Mereana ki a koe. E tokomaha matou i to matou whare - ko au, ko Hakaraia, ko Rawiri, ko Riria, ko nga tamariki. E rapu ana matou ki taua kupu e haere atu na a Mereana ki a koe. Tae mai au, noho noa iho, kahore aku korero. Kua rongo au ki te kupu mai ki a au: 'Kaua e korero. No mua ki nga kupu, no to matou komiti.'

Na Rhipeti i korero ki a Hariata ka haere mai ki te whawhai maua i te wiki. Ka ki, 'Kei te whakamohio au ki a ia no konei ka nui tenei whawhai.'

Nana [a]no ana kupu, hurihia mai naku!

Ka whawhai maua ko Mereana. Ka ki mai, kia haere atu maua ki a koe. Ka ki atu au, 'Ka ngarurutia a Tamati i [sic] enei korero kino!'

Ka ki mai, 'Homai he utu, £25.0.0 pauna.'

Ka ki atu matou, 'E Mereana, kahore matou i te mohio ki o korero e ki mai ana ki te utu. E hea ana au kia utu mai ki [a] au?'

Ka ki mai a Hariata, 'Puremu.'

Ka ki atu a Rakapa, 'E whahine puremu koia a Mereaina, koia kino, ha, me i kore kua mate a Te Whatene ei utu mo to he. E rapu ana au ki te tikanga o te pauna i ki[i]a mai e koe. Ki [a] au, e tika ana hei rongo raua ki tau kupu kia noho atu raua.'

Kua tae atu maua ko Rakapa kia rongo koe i a matou korero. Ko tenei, kati. Whakarongo mai. Kati to whakarongo ki nga tikanga a Pukerangiora<sup>85</sup> m[au] atu ki a koe.

Ka mutu.

Na Mereaina Makia

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<sup>85</sup> See map. Pukerangiora is situated on the Waitara river. Defended by 300ft nearly perpendicular cliffs, it was twice beseiged in 1821-22 and 1831. The Rangatira hapu of Te Ati Awa is named after it; Smith, 1984, pp161-164. In the early 1860s part of the pa known as Te Arei was re-fortified by Hapurona Pukerimu and others; *Historic Places of New Zealand*, 1990, p83.

## MS 31:18

Huirangi<sup>86</sup>

August 24th 1858

Go my letter to Te Wanga, to Tamati Te Ito. Greetings to you.

I did not know the news that Mereana<sup>87</sup> went to you. There are many of us in our house. There are Hakaraia,<sup>88</sup> Rawiri,<sup>89</sup> Riria<sup>90</sup> and the children and I, and we are considering that news that Mereana went off to you. When I arrived, I just sat there and did not say a thing. I heard them say to me, 'Do not speak, the words have already been spoken by our committee.'

It was Rhipeti<sup>91</sup> who said to Hariata<sup>92</sup> that we should come to fight on Sunday. She said, 'I am letting her know, seeing that this fight is serious.'

They were her own words. They have crossed over to me, and become mine!

Mereana and I fought. She said that we should go to you.

I said, 'These evil sayings will give Tamati a headache!'

She said, 'Give me £25.0.0 as compensation.'

We said, 'Mereana, we do not understand what you are saying about compensation. Where is yours for compensating me?'

Hariata said, 'Adultery.'

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<sup>86</sup> See map. According to Fenton's census, there were 373 men and 230 women living in the Huirangi and Waitara area in 1858.

<sup>87</sup> Marion or Maryanne.

<sup>88</sup> Zecharaiah.

<sup>89</sup> David.

<sup>90</sup> Lydia.

<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth.

<sup>92</sup> Harriet.



Rakapa<sup>93</sup> said, 'An adulterous woman - that is Mereaina,<sup>94</sup> that is her crime.'

Te Whatene was almost killed as compensation for the offence.

I am considering the appropriateness of the money you spoke of to me. To me, it is fair for them to pay heed to your word that they should stay away.

Rakapa and I went there so that you would hear our speeches. I say, enough. Listen here. Stop listening to the view Pukerangiora are giving you.

The end.

From Mereaina Makia

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<sup>93</sup> Rechab , a captain of an Israelite band. However, Rakapa also appears as a woman's name on a Taranaki land deed; Turton 1877-78, pp39-42. See also MS 31:70.

<sup>94</sup> Possibly Marilyn.

## MS 31:19

Ki a Mihi

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Whaitara

Tangiteroria whare

Te Poutoko pa

Taranaki

Akuwha[ta] 25 1858

E koro, e Tamati Ngamoke Te Ito, tena ra ko koe, e tama, korua ko to whaereere ko to kotiro, tena ra ko koe.

E tama, e Mati, tena korua ko to teina. E tama ma, he mihi atu ianei taaku ki a korua ko to teina, he aroha i puta mai ki [a] au i tenei ra, otira i nga katoa.

E tama, tena ra koe, ka nui, ka nui ta [sic] taaku aroha atu ki a koe. Kei roto hoki au kei te pouri e noho ana. Tena ra koe, e tama.

E kui, e Mihi, tena ra ko koe, korua ko to potiki. E hoa, tena koe, ka nui taaku aroha.

E Mati, tena ra koe, e tama, korua ko to teina me to matua. Kia mau ki a Ropata.

E Ro, kei whakarere atu koe i to tuakana. Kia titiro mai ki a ko[e], kia titiro atu ki a ia. Mehemea kei Paraeiti to tuakana e noho ana, ka pai kia whakarerea atu e koe. Ko tena, e tama, kia mau atu hei tirohanga ake ma to tuakana.

Heoi ano.

E Mati, tena koe.

Heoi [a]no, ko taaku aroha atu tena ki a koe.

Na tou matua na Te Ngahuru ki a koe.

Hei kona ra i noho mai ai me to potiki.

## MS 31:19

To Mihi and Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Whaitara

Tangiteroria whare<sup>95</sup>

Te Poutoko pa

Taranaki

August 25 1858

Old friend, Tamati Ngamoke Te Ito, greetings to you, son, and your wife and daughter.

Greetings to you. Son, Mati,<sup>96</sup> greetings to you, and your younger brother. Sons, I am greeting you and your younger brother because longing comes to me this day and every other.

Son, greetings to you. Great is my love for you, for I dwell in the midst of sadness. Son, greetings.

Lady, Mihi, greetings to you and your youngest. Friend, greetings to you, great is my love.

Mati, greetings to you, son, and your younger brother and your father. You should keep hold of Ropata.

Ro,<sup>97</sup> don't leave your elder brother. He should look to you and you should look to him. If your elder brother is staying at Paraeiti it is all right for you to leave him. As for that, son, continue to be someone for your elder brother to look upon.

That's all.

Mati, greetings to you.

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<sup>95</sup> This is the only time in the collection that an address included a named house. 'Tangiteroria' may be translated as 'the sound of the Jew's harp'. Roria was the transliteration for 'Jew's harp'; William Williams, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, 1844, p119.

<sup>96</sup> Contraction of Tamati.

<sup>97</sup> Contraction of Ropata.

That is all my love to you.

From your elder, Te Ngahuru,<sup>98</sup> to you.

Farewell to you living there with your youngest child.

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<sup>98</sup> The loyalist chief Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru had a pa at Te Poutoko. According to Sinclair, Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru attended the anti-land sales meeting held at Taiporohenui at Manawapou on 26 April 1854 and wrote a long report, now lost, on the proceedings to the government. Sinclair, Keith, 'Te Tikanga Pakeke' in Munz 1969, pp85-88. Te Ngahuru was the first Assessor (local magistrate) appointed in south Taranaki. According to the Crown Lands Commissioner Henry Halse, Te Ngahuru was enlisted as an Assessor, as he was 'a keen fellow, and a clever orator, capable of effecting much good or evil as caprice leads him;' Sinclair 1969, pp87-88. He was, however, soon suspected of duplicity, as Maori reported that 'he spoke with two tongues' at Manawapou. According to Horomona Toremi, Te Ngahuru chanted at that meeting an incantation to cause the fall of the Pakeha; *Te Karere Maori/Maori Messenger* 3 August 1860, pp11-12. In 1858 he joined a protest march through the farms of the Bell block settlers 'in fighting costume (that is, nearly naked, and fully armed)'; *The Taranaki Herald*, 20 February 1858. However in 1859 Maori at Warea were said to have joined the King Movement as a protest against Te Ngahuru's secret dealing with the government to extinguish native title to the Omata block. Riemenschneider to Sir W. Martin, 30 Sept 1861; *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR)* 1862, E1, ii, pp23-24. A report in *The Taranaki Herald* (10 March 1860) says that Tamati Wiremu and 80 followers had 'signified their wish to swear allegiance to the Queen and assist the government.' In the same article, the reporter states that Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke's teina, Ropata Ngarongomate, was living with Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru at Te Poutoko pa. In September 1860 Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke visited Te Ngahuru. The significance of the visit is unknown, however Te Ito was reported in *The Taranaki Herald* of 1 Sept 1860 as saying that 'if my war had been with Parris (i.e. Robert Parris, the district commissioner) alone, the war would have been ended long ago; but the great *he* (evil) has been the Waikato.' According to the report, Te Ito blamed acts by Waikato soldiers for the prolongation and extension of the fighting. Te Ito said 'We here wished to fight in an honourable way.' Te Ito's idea of an honourable war was one that existed only when his red flag of war was hoisted.

**MS 31:20**

Ki a Tamati Ito

Kei Waitara

Te Warau pa

Akuata 25 1858

Haere ra e taku reta ki a Tamati Ito. Tena koe.

Tenei ano taku kupu. Kia rongu mai koe. Ko te wenua i mahi ai koe kei te takoto raruraru ana. Kaore i te takoto pai. Engari, wakaaturia mai e koe ki a au kia weau te mohio ki te tikanga o taua wenua.

Ko te tangata i waka[a]turia e koe, ko Te Rore mo Taikatu. Kua karangatia e Nopere raua ko Hoani, ko raua te iwi o te wenua. Ko raua kei Taikatu<sup>99</sup> e noho ana, e tautohetohe ana te tikanga, no te mea kaore i wakaotia e koe ki a wai ranei, ki a wai ranei. Otira i karangatia e koe ki a Te Rore; inaianei kei te urupa ia e takoto ana.

Kei a koe tetahi reta ki a au.

Na Te Waaka

Heoi tena.

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<sup>99</sup> See map.

MS 31:20

To Tamati Te Ito at Waitara

Te Warau pa

August 25 1858

Go my letter to Tamati Ito. Greetings to you.

This is my word. Hear this. The land you dealt with is in a troubled state. It is not in a good state. Rather you should show me so that I understand the situation of that land. The man you pointed it out for was Te Rore,<sup>100</sup> in respect of Taikatu, but Nopere<sup>101</sup> and Hoani<sup>102</sup> have declared that they are the people of the land. They are living at Taikatu quarrelling over the decision, because you did not make a final decision on who it's for - or rather you did declare it was for Te Rore; now he is lying in the grave.

Will you write me a letter.

From Te Waaka<sup>103</sup>

That's all.

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<sup>100</sup> Lawry. A Rev. Walter Lawry was the Wesleyan Superintendent in New Zealand; Church 1992, p67.

<sup>101</sup> Noble.

<sup>102</sup> John.

<sup>103</sup> Walker. According to the Inventory of the Atkinson Letters Te Waaka lived at Te Namu, which is a short distance from Te Wharau. Te Waaka is a common name, but this is probably the Te Waaka who appears as a signatory to a letter to Robert Parris naming lands which are reserved from sale. Hori Kiwi *et al*, to Parris, 24 Oct 1857, *op. cit*.

**MS 31:21**

Ki a Tamati Te Ito anake

Kei Te Wanga

Te Kaipakopako pa<sup>104</sup>

Hepetema 4 1858

Ki a Tamati Te Ito. Haere atu ra e taku reta ki Te Whaanga. E tama, tena koe.

Kua tae mai tau reta ki a au. E tika ana to kupu i tuhituhi mai nei ki a au mo te putao. Kei kona ano e noho ana a Ropata Rongomate, a Wiremu Henare, a Renata Takutai. Ko aaku tenei e whakaatu ai ki a koe. E tama, me korero e koe te putao ki enei tokotoru, ki aaku e korero atu nei ki a koe. Kei a ia te whakaaro.

Heoi ano taku kupu ki a koe, ki a koe anake, ki tokotahi anake.

Na Ngara

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<sup>104</sup> See map. Te Kaipakopako was the pa of the late Te Waitere Katatore, murdered on 9 January 1858.



# MS 31:21

To Tamati Te Ito only, at Te Wanga

Te Kaipakopako pa

September 4 1858

To Tamati Te Ito, Go my letter to Te Whaanga. Son, greetings to you.

I have received your letter. Your word that you wrote to me with regard to the widow<sup>105</sup> is right. Ropata Rongomate, Wiremu Henare<sup>106</sup> and Renata<sup>107</sup> Takutai are still living there. This is what I pointed out to you. You had better tell the widow about these three that I am telling you about. It's up to her.

That's all of my words to you, to you alone, to one man only.

From Ngara

---

<sup>105</sup> *Putao* does not appear in the 1844 *Williams Dictionary*. In the modern *Williams*, it is given as 'widowed', but Elsdon Best gives 'widow' or 'widower'. Elsdon Best, 'Maori Words Not in Dictionaries' 1984 [1894].

<sup>106</sup> Henry.

<sup>107</sup> Leonard.

## MS 31:23

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Whaanga pa e noho ana

Ketemarae pa<sup>108</sup>

Hepetema 16 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki Te Whanga, ki taku tamaiti, ki a Tamati Ngamoke. Ka tae atu koe, ka kite koe i a ia, ka mihi atu ki a ratou ko ana tamariki, tena ra koutou, i roto i te kino. Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koutou katoa. E tama, e Tamati, tena ra koe. He rahi ra toku aroha atu ki a koe.

Tenei ano taku korero atu ki a koe. Kei te noho tika ranei matou, kei te noho he ranei? Kaore au i te mohio. Kei te pouri au ki te ara, he ai a Hopa, he ianei te ara e pouri mai ana ki a au, otira, ko nga he katoa kei te nohopuku i roto i te ngakau o te tangata, i toku ngakau, i to tetehi atu tangata ngakau.

Koia tenei te ara atu o taku reta ki a koe. Ko te ara i he ai a Hopa haunga nga he e kite ana e te kanohi Maori. Ko te mea ngaro ko te puremu, ko te tahae. Ko tenei he, ko te he ngaro. Ka mea te tangata kia waiho hei taonga mona ki roto i tona ngakau, i toku ngakau, i to tetehi atu tangata ngakau.

I tuhituhi atu ai au enei kupu aku ki a koe kia tohutohuria mai e koe, te he hou ranei te he tawito ranei. Ko te rama tiaho, tena, ko te ramarama. Ko te ra hei tohutohu i te awatea: ko te marama hei tohutohu i te po. Whaihoki ko koe hei tohutohu i nga mea ngaro o te ngakau. Ko [w]ai au ka

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<sup>108</sup> See map. Originally an unfortified village, in 1857 Rev. Richard Taylor reported that it had been replaced by three pa. Taylor was on a mission to promote peace among the feuding Puketapu hapu, but reported that he heard 'many warlike speeches'; Church, 1992, p124. In 1853, at the same time as Taiporohenui was built at Manawapou, a house called Kumea Mai Te Waka was also built at Ketemarae as a focus for anti-land selling sentiment; *ibid.*, p116. In March 1857 the Ketemarae people made a canoe as a present for Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake. As it was being launched in the surf six members of its crew were drowned, and the canoe was subsequently chopped into pieces; *ibid.*, p105. Ketemarae was a prosperous community in the 1850s. According to Rev. William Woon, the Ketemarae mill was built on the Orokowhai stream in 1848, and was paid for with 200 pigs. When Woon visited in March 1849, between 500-600 bushels of flour had been 'produced and distributed to different parties.' The mill machinery was

mohio iho ki roto ki toku ngakau, ki to teteahi atu tangata ngakau? Kei [a] au ranei taua he puremu. Whakaaturia mai kei teteahi ranei, a, matouria mai kia wawe au te mohio. Heoi henei kupu.

He kupu ke tenei. Ko te wai werawera i ringihia ki toku tinana. Ko te mahi a taua tangata ki a au kua mutu; kua kahore noa iho.

Tenei hoki teteahi. Ko to teina, ko Paramena, kia riro atu i a koe ki kona. Kei a koe he tikanga mona. Ka kite koe i te marama mona, e pai ana.

Ka mutu.

Na tou papa kuare, na Tamati Reina Ngawhare

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removed by troops in 1866; *ibid.*, p97. The settlement was rebuilt in the 1870s, and was associated with the prophet Tohu Kakahi; Church 1983, p67.

## MS 31:23

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke living at Te Whaanga pa.

Ketemarae pa

September 16 1858

Go my letter to Te Whaanga, to my son, Tamati Ngamoke.

When you get there and you see him, greet him and his children. Greetings to you in troubled times. Great is my love for you all. Son, Tamati, greetings to you. Very great is my love for you.

This is what I have to say to you – are we living in truth or error? I don't know. I am distressed at the path. Hopa<sup>109</sup> does wrong, and wrong is the path which brings me sorrow - namely, all the faults which lie silent within the heart of man, in my heart and that of other men.

This then is the path of my letter to you – the path on which Hopa erred, not to mention the errors seen by everyday eyes. What is hidden is adultery and theft. This sin is the hidden sin. Man says leave it as a possession for him within his heart - in my heart and in that of other men.

I have written these words of mine to you for you to instruct me concerning both new and old errors. When the torch shines there is light. The sun is to guide the day and the moon is to guide the night. You, then, are to guide the hidden things of the heart. Who am I to know what is in my heart, or that of another man; Is that sin of adultery mine? Show me whether it is someone else's, teach me so I may shortly know. That's all of these words.

This is another word. The warm water was poured over my body. That man's work on me has stopped. It's all over.

This is another [word]. Take your younger brother, Paramena,<sup>110</sup> over there. It's up to you what you do with him. It is good if you see the light for him.

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<sup>109</sup> Job.

<sup>110</sup> Parmenas.

The end.

From your foolish father Tamati Reina Ngawhare

## MS 31:24

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

Hepetema 23 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki toku hoa aroha, ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. E hoa, tena koe me to kotiro, me tou hoa, me au tamariki.

E hoa, tenei ano taku kupu ki a koe. Kia rongo mai koe. Kei te mate au. Ka rua oku wiki e takoto ana, no konei ahau ka rapu atu ki a koe kia kimihia mai e koe tetahi tangata hei hoa moku hei karakia, no te mea, e ma[m]ae ana toku tinana. Nehemea [sic] e ora [a]na ahau, e kore au e mahi atu ki a koe.

Ko tenei, kei te mate au, no konei au ka rapu atu ki a koe kia kimihia mai e koe.

Ko tetahi whakaaro aku, ko Komene. Kahore ia i te tae mai ki a matou, kei Te Namu ano. Nehemea [sic] e tae mai ana ki konei e pai ana. Ko tenei, kahore, engari mau e rapu mai tetahi hoa moku.

Heoi ano.

Na tou hoa aroha, na Ihaia Te Karawa

**MS 31:24**

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

September 23 1858

Go my loving letter to my beloved friend, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. Friend, greetings to you, your daughter, your wife and your children.

Friend, this is what I have to say to you. Listen here. I am sick. I have been laid up for two weeks and because of this I am applying to you to look for someone to be a companion for me, to pray for me, because my body is in pain. If I recover, I won't be able to work for you.

The thing is, I am sick and therefore want you to find [someone]. One idea of mine is Komene. He is not coming to us - he's still at Te Namu. If he came here it would be good - the thing is, he is not. But will you find me a companion.

That's all.

From your loving friend Ihaia Te Karawa

## MS 31:25

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Ki a Whiremu Kingi

Kairau pa<sup>111</sup>

Oketopa 2 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki taku tamaiti.

Kia rongu mai koe ki taku kupu. Kua tae o matua ki te wakahoki i a ratou, a Te Waka, a Nehe, a Te Waitere. Ka mea mai a Ihaka ko ta matou pukapuka kua tae ki a Parete. Ko taua pukapuka na Ihaia e tuhituhi paraikete mona. Ka pouri matou ko [o] matua - kaore matou i kite, i tangohia pukutia e Matene ko aua pukapuka e rua ki a Parete raua ko Neri. Heoti ena.

Tenei ano tetahi. Ko nga taonga mo Wiremu Kingi, kotahi te mai me te pohoi. Ka rongu matou ki te kupu a Ruka ko te mai nei me hoatu ki nga wahine i haere mai nei. Ka ki atu o matua me waiho kia kimihia he ritenga ki a raua ko te tuakana. Ma raua te ritenga mo enei taonga.

Heoti ano.

Na Apera ki a Tamati Ngamoke

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<sup>111</sup> See map. Kairau was the place where General Pratt began his sap in 1860 in order to assault the pa Pukerangiora. According to Wells (1878, p217), Maori had 'formed an extensive series of fieldworks, consisting of rifle pits, connected with viaducts that led to gullies bordering the dense bush surrounding the Matarikoriko pa.'



## MS 31:25

To Tamati Ngamoke

To Whiremu Kingi

Kairau pa

October 2 1858

Go my letter to my son. Listen to what I have to say. Your elders have come to take Te Waka,<sup>112</sup> Nehe<sup>113</sup> and Te Waitere back. Ihaka<sup>114</sup> said that Parris<sup>115</sup> has received our letter. Ihaia<sup>116</sup> wrote that letter to get himself blankets. Your elders and I are upset – we did not see [them], those two letters were secretly taken to Parris and Neri<sup>117</sup> by Matene.<sup>118</sup> That is all of those [words].

This is another word. The presents for Wiremu Kingi are one flax cape<sup>119</sup> and the feather ear ornament. We have heard Ruka's<sup>120</sup> word that this flax cape had better be given to the women who came here. Your elders say to wait to seek a ruling from her and her sister. They are the ones who will rule on these things.

That's all.

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<sup>112</sup> Te Waka is a common name. A Te Waaka is the writer of letter 20; a Te Waka was a signatory to Hapurona's declaration of peace (see footnote 131).

<sup>113</sup> Probably a contraction of Nehemia = Nehemiah.

<sup>114</sup> Isaac.

<sup>115</sup> Robert Reid Parris (1816 - 1904) lived in New Plymouth from 1852 and was appointed District Land Purchase Commissioner in New Plymouth in July 1857.

<sup>116</sup> This is almost certainly Ihaia Te Kirikumara, whose brother, Tamati Tiraaurau, killed Katatore Te Waitere. When Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake and Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea laid siege Karaka, Ihaia's pa 'near a ford on the Waitara river' after the killing of Te Waitere Katatore in January 1858, the missionary John Whiteley and Robert Parris proposed that Ihaia's people be allowed to evacuate the pa before it was destroyed. This plan was accepted, but Ihaia then attempted to ambush his attackers. His plan was discovered, but he was allowed to escape to the Mimi river, where he built a pa at Te Kaweka; Church 1992, p133.

<sup>117</sup> Neri is a biblical name, but in these circumstances may be a transliteration of an English name, perhaps 'Neal'.

<sup>118</sup> Martin. See also Matena.

<sup>119</sup> Mai has various meanings, all of which could apply, such as shelled mussels, and perhaps other foods, slightly fermented; Williams, 1975, p166. A mai is also a rough flax rain cape, and a general word for clothing. Because of the association of a mai with an ear ornament in this Letter and Letter 223, it has been assumed to be clothing and the translation 'flax rain cape' has been tentatively adopted.

<sup>120</sup> Luke.

## From Apera to Tamati Ngamoke

## MS 31:223

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Te Wanga pa<sup>121</sup>

Kairau pa

Haere ra e tenei reta ki a Tamati raua ko Herueti. Ko te kupu i ki hora <sup>122</sup>koe, e Herueti, i rite i [a] au te korero ki a Ruka. Ka ki atu au, 'Tiki[n]a e koe te mai ra. Homai ki [a] au maku e tahu.'

Ka wakahae ha Ruka. Ka ki atu au 'Tikina.'

Ka haere ha Ruka, ka tiki, ka mou mai. Ko te taenga atu o Ruka i haere mai au, i tiki mai i te mai nei. Ma Hapurona e tahu.

Ka ki mai ha Rapata, 'Me tahu ki wea?'

Ka ki atu ha Ruka, 'Ki Matarikoriko.'<sup>123</sup>

Ka ki mai ratou, 'E kore e tika kia tahuna ki reira ki te waha<sup>124</sup> o Heringahaupapa.

Ka hoki mai ha Ruka. Ka korero ki [a] au, 'Kua he taku kupu ki a koe, e Ha.'

Ka mea ratou kia kawea ki Tihoi, ki te tangata nona. Ka nohopuku au, kaore taku waha i hamu[mu].

Ka mutu.

Na Hapurona Pukerimu

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<sup>121</sup> This undated letter has been placed here because it is written from the same place as Letter 25 and also contains a reference to a mai. Hapurona writes to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke from Kairau pa on 3 October and 8 October 1858, and the similarities in subject matter suggest that this letter is one of the same series..

<sup>122</sup> This phrase presents difficulties. This phrase presents difficulties exacerbated by the use of an intrusive 'h'.

<sup>123</sup> See map. Matarikoriko was a pa on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Waitara valley on the track to Pukerangiora.

<sup>124</sup> Text has waho.

## MS 31:223

To Tamati Te Ito

Te Wanga pa

Kairau pa

Go, this letter, to Tamati and Erueti.<sup>125</sup> As for the word you proclaimed<sup>126</sup>, Erueti, I gave the word to Ruka. Ruka agreed. I said, 'Fetch it.'

Ruka went, got it and kept it. When Ruka arrived I came to fetch the flax cape. It is Hapurona who will burn it.<sup>127</sup>

Rapata said, 'Where must it be burnt?'

Ruka said, 'At Matarikariko.'

They said, 'It is not right to burn it there at the mouth of Heringahaupapa.'

Ruka came back to me and said, 'What I told you was wrong, Ha.'<sup>128</sup>

They said it should be brought to Tihoi, to the people who own it. I sat quietly. My mouth did not speak.

The end.

From Hapurona Pukerimu<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Letters in the Atkinson Collection written to Erueti Te Whiti suggest that this may be who is referred to here.

<sup>126</sup> Text has ki hora; a satisfactory translation for ora in this context has not been found.

<sup>127</sup> As this letter is signed by Hapurona himself, this lapse into the third person is idiosyncratic.

<sup>128</sup> Contraction of Hapurona.

<sup>129</sup> Hapurona Pukerimu (18?? - 1874) was, through his mother, Ngati Awa. His father was a chief of the Taranaki tribe. Hapurona (Zebulon), who was also known as Iwimaire, escaped from Waikato's attack on Pukerangiora in 1831-1832. Described by various observers as of fiery temperament, he was a noted orator who became Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake's 'fighting chief' in 1860; G.H. Scholefield, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1940, p354. Hapurona Pukerimu was the chief man of Kairau. He signed a declaration

# MS 31:26

Te Wanga pa

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kairau pa

Oketopa 3 1858

Haere ra e taku reta ki taku tamaiti, ki a Tamati Te Ito.

E tama, manawha taku kupu. Ka puta inakuanei ki te tono i nga tangata o Tihoi<sup>130</sup> kia haere. Kua riro ratou i te whiki nei. I te putanga o taku kupu ki te tono i a ratou, ka wakahae ratou ki te haere. Ka ki atu au, 'Haere noa [a]tu koutou i te ara. E kore au e tahae i a koutou. Kia tae ra ano koutou ki tou kainga e rongu koe ki tona harurutanga.'

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of peace on 8 April 1861, after which he was reported to 'stand almost alone as the Huirangi and Mataitawa Natives have nearly all deserted him ...on account of his abandoning the Waitara cause, the Maori King, and New Zealand'; *AJHR* 1862, E No. 1, section 2, No. 9, pp20-21, Rogan to Native Secretary, 28 June 1861. Rogan described Hapurona as a 'wily native, difficult to understand', but he considered him 'the key to the amicable settlement of the Waitara question' and advised the government to 'treat him with care': 'Although he is now firm in his determination to adhere to the government, a mere pretext might change him 'unless he is treated with care and confided in.' On 25 January 1862 Hapurona and his son Horopapera were arrested for 'riotous behaviour' (Wells 1878, p238), however according to Horopapera, his father intervened to stop him being beaten for 'no cause' by a Pakeha military officer; *AJHR* 1863, E No 4/10 No. 10, encl. 3, 4; p60, Horopapera Hapurona to the Major, 18 Feb 1862. At this time he was the 'Commandant' of the government's Matarikoriko blockhouse, on a salary of 100 pounds *per annum*. He relinquished his government position as a result of the incident, which he described as being 'made a slave of by the police'; Wells, 1878, p238. Hapurona subsequently joined the Hauhau faith, taking the name Tuahuterangi. In 1865 he referred to himself as 'Tianara Hapurona' (General Hapurona), suggesting that he was again involved in fighting; A.S. Atkinson Collection, MS Papers 31: 205. In 1869 he was living at Te Kawau, from where he wrote a letter to the government disassociating himself from the killing of Pakeha at Pukearuhe: E kore au e poauau noa ki tenei ritenga, e whiti ana te maramatanga i roto i au. 'I will not join in the matter, the light shines within me'; *AJHR* 1869, A10 No.46, Encl. 4, p50. In 1872 he accompanied Wiremu Kingi into New Plymouth to meet McLean, on Kingi's return to Taranaki from the King Country; *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* Vol. 8, 1871-1872, pp58-59, *Te Taenga mai o Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake kia kite i a Te Makarini*, (22 February 1872). Hapurona died two years later at Te Arei.

<sup>130</sup>See map. Tihoi was the pa of the Nga Rauru man baptised as Hohepa Otene (after Joseph Orton, Superintendent of the Wesleyan church in New South Wales), who later became the prophet and military leader Titokowaru; Church 1992, p115. In March 1840, E.J. Wakefield visited and traded fish-hooks and tobacco for cloaks and food. He recorded that 'A large audience assembled to see me wash in the river at daybreak. Roars of laughter and screams of astonishment resounded from every quarter when I proceeded to brush my teeth'; Church 1983, p 76. A drawing of Tihoi by William Swainson is reproduced in Church 1992, p31. In the 1840s Tihoi had houses for travelling Church of England and Wesleyan missionaries to

E tama, he kupu waka[a]tu tenei naku: Mane, Turei, Wenerei, Taite. Ka mea [a]u kia watea te huarahi i haere mai ai henei tangata ki wea koia ki Waihi,<sup>131</sup> ki Karumohiti.<sup>132</sup>

Na to matu[a], na Hapurona Pukerimu

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stay in. It was a prosperous south Taranaki wheat-growing community with a mill. In a census of Ngati Ruanui taken in 1852, the population on Tihoi was given as 100; Church 1992, p115.

<sup>131</sup> See map. One community called Waihi was in south Taranaki, the other was north of Waitara. The latter is presumed to be referred to here.

<sup>132</sup> Karumohiti was an inland pa on the Waitara river. It is mentioned in the Wesleyan Missionary Society *New Plymouth Native circuit Report* of 1856 as being one of the places on the main road called the Devon Line visited by Wesleyan ministers; Wesleyan Missionary society: Reports, 1856.

MS 31:26

Te Wanga pa  
To Tamati Te Ito

Kairau pa  
October 3 1858

Go my letter to my son, Tamati Te Ito.

Son, support my word. I came out just now to request the people of Tihoi to go. They will go this Sunday. When I made my request to them they agreed to go. I said 'Just go along the path. I will not rob you. When you reach your home again you will hear its roaring.'<sup>133</sup>

Son, this is what I propose: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday - I say the path should be free for these people to travel wherever, namely to Waihi and Karumohiti.

From your elder Hapurona Pukerimu

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<sup>133</sup> Harurutanga; significance unknown.

## MS 31:27

Oketopa 4 o nga ra 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta, kimi atu ra i a Tamati. E hoa, tena ra koe.

He kupu atu tenei naku ki a koe. He wakapae kai ana te pa nei ki toku hoa. I mea te pa nei a Keteonetea, na toku hoa i kaia nga taewa 3. Koia au i pouri ai. Ka mea nga tangata katoa kia utu au. Ka mea [a]tu au e kore e tika. Kaore ano i hopungia noatia tona tahae engari ra me tuhi e [a]u he pukapuka ki a Tamati Te Ito, mana e wakaatu mai.

Ko tetahi hoki he koropu taewa na Harata Kauere, ko tetahi na Pirihira, ko tetahi na Hohi. Ko enei me wakaatu mai e koe e tika [a]na.

Ko taku wahine [e] pai ana, engari me wakahoki ia ki tona matua, kaore i mau nei i marenatia.

Heoi ano, ka mutu. Me tuhi mai e koe he pukapuka ki [a] au.

Na Hemi Wepita

Raumanga



MS 31:27

Fourth day of October, 1858

Go my letter, seek out Tamati. Friend, greetings to you.

This is what I have to say to you. There is an accusation being made by this pa against my wife. This pa, Keteonetea, says it was my wife who stole from the three potato pits.<sup>134</sup> That is why I am distressed. All the people said I should pay. I said that is not fair. She was not caught thieving, and so I had better write to Tamati Te Ito for him to guide me.

One is Harata<sup>135</sup> Kauere's potato storehouse, one is Pirihi's<sup>136</sup> and one is Hohi's.<sup>137</sup> If you will guide me on these it will be good.

My wife is all right, however she had better return to her father as I do not want to be married.<sup>138</sup>

Well, that's all. Please write me a letter.

From Hemi Wepita<sup>139</sup>

Raumanga

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<sup>134</sup> Elsdon Best describes Taranaki storage pits as being in general six to eight feet deep and eight to ten feet wide, tapering to two feet wide at the top, where they were lined with tree fern. They were situated near the dwellings of individual families, confirming the ownership of such pits described in this letter; Elsdon Best, *Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures*, 1927, p141; Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1958, p372.

<sup>135</sup> Charlotte.

<sup>136</sup> Priscilla.

<sup>137</sup> Joses.

<sup>138</sup> A deserted or deserting wife usually returned to her own people to live; Peter Buck 1958, p 372.

<sup>139</sup> James Webster. In the 1840s a James Webster was the Sub-Collector of Customs, Harbour and Postmaster in New Plymouth. Hursthouse, Charles, *New Plymouth*, 1849, p64.

MS 31:28

Te Whanga pa

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kairau pa

Heketopa<sup>140</sup> 8 1858

E tama, e Tamati Te Ito. E tika ana me rapu marire taua tona tikanga te peweatanga. E tika ana, e taea hoki te aha e taua? Waiho kia rapua e to matua te tikanga, no te mea e tata ana au hei wakarongo i te kupu pai, te kupu kino. Ka rongo au, maku e tuhi atu ki a koe.

Na Hapurona Pukerimu

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<sup>140</sup> October.

MS 31:28

Te Whanga pa

To Tamati Te Ito

Kairau pa

October 8 1858

Son, Tamati Te Ito. It is right that we carefully examine the nature of his ruling. If it is right, what can we do? Leave it for your elder to examine the decision, because I am at hand to listen to both wise counsel and bad. When I hear I will write to you.

From Hapurona Pukerimu

## MS 31:30

Keteonetea pa<sup>141</sup>

Oketopa 14 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki toku matua, ki a Tamati Te Ito.

Ko te korero a Te Warihi i roto i tona pukapuka ana, he hanga noa iho. Kaore au i wakaae ki ta ratou korero. I tohe atu maua ko Panapa ko Te Herewini he hoa mo Kereopa. Heoti tenei.

Tenei hoki tetahi kupu aku kia rongu mai koe, he kupu na Rora i ki kua moe maua ko Roka. Mau e ki mai e tika ana, mau e ki mai e he ana, otira mau e tuhituhi mai tona tikanga i tuhituhia atu ai. He mou tonu o nga tangata i tonoa a[sic] atu ai. Kia wakina mai e koe, ta te mea he pouri noku, he nui no toku ingoa i nga tangata.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Naku, na Te Kepa

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<sup>141</sup> See map. In the 1840s this was predominately a Church of England pa, but in 1857 the Rev. Richard Taylor describes it as a centre for Kaingarara beliefs. In March 1858 collections were taken up to complete a Maori church there for all Christians in the area; Church 1992, pp125, 128.

Keteonetea pa

October 14 1858

Go my loving letter to my elder, Tamati Te Ito.

What Te Warihi<sup>142</sup> said in his letter - well, it's all lies. I did not agree with what they said. Panapa<sup>143</sup> and I insisted that Te Herewini<sup>144</sup> be Kereopa's<sup>145</sup> companion. This is all.

This is another word of mine for you to hear, Rora's<sup>146</sup> assertion that Roka<sup>147</sup> and I had slept together. It is up to you to tell me if it is right or wrong, however write me her undersanding of it that was written to you. Those of the people who were sent still remain.<sup>148</sup> Let them be disclosed to me, because I am distressed at my name being a big matter among the people.

Well, that's all.

From me, Te Kepa<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Wallis, probably after the Rev. James Wallis, Wesleyan missionary at Whangaroa, who travelled through Taranaki in 1841; Church 1992, p51. This is possibly the Tipene Warihi who is named in an 1863 letter by Te Teira Manuka asking for an investigation of the ownership of the Waitara block; *AJHR* 1863, G No.1, p1.

<sup>143</sup> Barnabas.

<sup>144</sup> Selwyn. George Augustus Selwyn was the Church of England Bishop of New Zealand. He arrived on 30 May 1842 and finally left on 20 October 1868; Scholefield 1940, pp 285-288.

<sup>145</sup> Cleophas.

<sup>146</sup> Rhoda.

<sup>147</sup> Dorcas.

<sup>148</sup> Translation tentative.

<sup>149</sup> Te Keepa (Kemp) Te Rangihwinui (182? - 1898), also known as Taitoko, was a Muaupoko military leader, an assessor (magistrate) and land purchase officer. In 1848 Te Keepa was a constable in the government police force, a position whose duties included carrying the mail between Taranaki and Wellington along a coastal trail. In the 1860s he had a personal following of warriors, and was recognised as the leading pro-government Maori at Whanganui, fighting against the Hauhau in early 1864, and later against Titokowaru, when, with the rank of Major, he was in command of both European and Maori soldiers with headquarters at Taiporohenui; *People of Many Peaks, 1769-1869*, pp246-250. Te Keepa was responsible for an offer of money to soldiers to bring in the heads of Titokowaru's followers. When flax kits containing 11 heads were subsequently emptied on the floor of Col. Whitmore's tent, he paid for them but immediately countermanded the order. Te Keepa's desire to take rebel heads echoes the taking of Pakeha soldiers' heads by Hauhau at Te Ahuahu in April 1864; Houston 1965, pp159-160. In the final phase of his military career Te Keepa was involved in the hunt for Te Kooti Rikirangi. In September 1880 Te Keepa organised a 'Maori Land Trust' at Whanganui, in which inland Whanganui land was declared unavailable for sale to Europeans. The boundaries of this land were marked by huge carved poles. This endeavour cost him his government positions as land purchase officer and assessor, but he was reinstated by Balance in 1884. In the later 1880s

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he was involved with the Kotahitanga movement. Te Keepa's last words were reportedly 'Sell no more land, keep the remainder you have as sustenance for the Maori people.' Te Keepa had kinship ties to the Taranaki tribe Nga Rauru through his maternal grandfather. Te Keepa and his family - which included three wives - lived at Te Putiki on the Whanganui river; *People of Many Peaks 1769-1869*, pp246-250.

## MS 31:31

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Te Whanga

Tiw[a]rawara pa<sup>150</sup>

15 o nga ra Oketopa 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki toku matua, ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, e Tamati, kei te mate tetahi o matou, a Honeri. Ka nui tona mate. He aha ranei te take o tona mate? Kei a koe te tikanga.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Te Warihi

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<sup>150</sup> See map.

**MS 31:31**

To Tamati Te Ito at Te Whanga

Tiw[a]rawara pa

Fifteenth day of October 1858.

Go my loving letter to my elder, Tamati Te Ito. Friend, Tamati, one of us, Honeri,<sup>151</sup> is ill. He is really sick. What is the cause of the illness? You decide what to do.

Well, that's all.

From Te Warihi

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<sup>151</sup> Honeri Tutu. Honeri = John Leigh. A John Leigh was an assistant to Charles Creed at the Waimate South Wesleyan mission station. At Skevington's first baptismal service in Maori at Pungaerere in 1842, Honeri 'impressively examined' the ten candidates, and, according to Skevington, 'many of his questions, as I understood them, would have done credit to the chairman of an English district examining candidates for the ministry.' Honeri 's question had not been memorised, but 'were put to the different individuals with a variety and adaptation which showed the soundness of his judgement and acquaintance with the subject.' Church 1992, p43.



## MS 31:32

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Waitara

Ko Te Awhei[ ]<sup>152</sup>

Ko Te Whanga

Takatahi<sup>153</sup>

16 o nga ra, Oketopa 1858

Haere ra e taku reta aroha ki toku tuakana. E hoa, tena koutou ko [o] taua teina, ko [o] taua matua e noho mai [a]na i roto i te kino.

E hoa, kia rongo mai koe. Ko Wiremu Te Motutere kua tae mai ki konei, a, e korero tinihanga nei ki konei, a, kotahi te hapu e haere atu ana, ko te hapu o Wiremu Hoeta.

E hoa, tena koutou katoa. Meake ano koe ka kite i [a] au.

Heoi ano.

Na Hori Te Naihi Te Pakeke

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<sup>152</sup> End of word illegible; probably Te Aweatone, where Rawiri Waiau was killed in 1854. It appears to have been near Kaipakopako and Te Whanga; Church 1992, p121.

<sup>153</sup> See map.

## MS 31:32

To Tamati Te Ito at Waitara

Te Awhei[ ]

Te Whanga

Takatahi

Sixteenth day of October 1858.

Go my loving letter to my elder brother. Friend, greetings to you, our younger brothers and our elders living in troubled times.

Friend, listen here. Wiremu Te Motutere<sup>154</sup> has arrived here, [he] is speaking lies and one hapu is leaving, Wiremu Hoeta's<sup>155</sup> hapu.

Friend, greetings to you all. You will see me again shortly.

That's all.

From Hori Te Naihi Te Pakeke<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> When the Waiwakaiho block was sold in 1854 Wiremu (William) Ropiha Te Motutere and Witana Ngatata negotiated with Cooper to buy back three twenty acre sections of the block; Parsonson 199,1 p115. His connection with Ihaia Kirikumara (see Letter 34) may suggest that he was a government supporter.

<sup>155</sup> Wiremu Hoeta is a transliteration of William Jowett. A person of that name was living on Waiheke Island in 1849. When the Matarikoriko pa was taken by government troops in December 1860, among the objects they found there was a letter from Takarei ('Sir Grey') Te Rangi to Wiremu Hoeta, Rewi Manaipoto and others, urging them to spare the women and children. This suggests that Wiremu Hoeta fought on the King's side in the first Taranaki war; Wells, 1878, p218.

<sup>156</sup> Hori (George) Te Naihi Te Pakeke may be the Ngati Ruanui chief Te Pakeke, who appears in 1842 as a supporter of the cutting of a bridle trail following the line of the Whakakahurangi track through the forest behind Mount Taranaki and pressed for it to extend to the coast at the Waingongoro river. The missionary Skevington opposed the track on the grounds that the alienation of land would follow it. Te Pakeke was so annoyed with Skevington's opposition that he left Waimate and established a new village called Ohawetokatoka (see map), and left the Wesleyan church for the Church of England; Church 1992, p51. Te Pakeke was baptised in late September 1846 along with his wife and children by the Rev. William Woon at Orokowhai, Ketemarae, on which occasion Tamati Reina was the preacher. In 1851 the New Plymouth settlers raised a flagstaff to signal ships, but some Ngati Ruanui viewed this as a sign that the Queen was claiming the land. Hori Kingi Te Pakeke signed a letter to Wiremu Kingi Rangitake to say they feared the flag would 'take our lands' and suggested cutting it down. However Mohi Tawhai, a Hokianga Assessor who was in New Plymouth on the mission of 'returning slaves', threatened Ngati Ruanui that if they did so they would drive Ngati Ruanui off their land and sell it to the government. Katatore also condemned the

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plan as 'evil [and] counselling destruction for us all', and the plan was dropped; Church 1992, p104. In 1852 Hori Te Pakeke was the principal chief of Ketemarae; *ibid.*, p115.

## MS 31:34

Ki a Tamati Te Ito kei Waitara

Waipa pa<sup>157</sup>

Oketopa 18 1858

Ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tena ra koutou ko te iwi.

E hoa, katahi ano matou ka kite i to pukapuka. I te Mane o te whiki nei i riro tonu i te mera ki Kawhia.<sup>158</sup> Kaore i kite nga rangatira o Te Piti i nga korero o to pukapuka. No te taenga mai ano ki a au, katahi ka korerotia.

E hoa, ka tika o korero mai. Kia rongo mai koe. Kua tu taua kaipuke ki Kawhia. Ko te Maori o runga ko Wiremu Te Motutere. Kua rongo au ki te mera kua tu taua kaipuke kei Kawhia. Ka nui te paura o taua kaipuke. E ki ana te mera e tono tangata ana a Te Motutere hei pikau atu i ona taonga ki Te Kaweka.<sup>159</sup> Kaore nga tangata e rongo ana.

E hoa, maku [e] tatari ake, ka puta mai, ka tonoa e matou ana paura. E kore matou e pai kia ahu atu i konei te ara o te paura. Kati ano to konei he ko nga paura a Te Wharepu. Heoi ano.

E hoa, tena maua te haere atu na ki Te Kauhau, ki kona. Kei a Ngati Ruanui te hoki mai ai kei roto i nga ra [o] Oketopa.

Na Hone Ropiha Ngahuahua

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<sup>157</sup> See map.

<sup>158</sup> See map.

<sup>159</sup> See map. Te Kaweka was a pa on the Mimi river (See map). This is where Ihaia lived after he was allowed to escape from Ikamoana in 1858.

MS 31:34

To Tamati Te Ito at Waitara

Waipa pa

October 18 1858

To Tamati Te Ito. Friend, greetings to you and the people.

Friend, we have finally seen your letter. On Monday of this week it was brought from the Kawhia mail.<sup>160</sup> Te Piti's chiefs<sup>161</sup> did not see the contents of your letter. When I received it it was read out.

Friend, what you have said is right. Listen here. That ship is stopped at Kawhia. The Maori on board is Wiremu Te Motutere. According to the postman that ship is stopped at Kawhia. There is a lot of powder<sup>162</sup> on that ship. According to the postman Te Motutere's men were told to carry his property to Te Kaweka but the men did not obey.

Friend, I will wait and when he appears, we will ask him for his powder. We will not agree to the powder being moved away from here. Te Wharepu's<sup>163</sup> powder was enough [of a] mistake here. That's all.

Friend, well, we're away there to Te Kauhau, coming back with Ngati Ruanui sometime in October.

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<sup>160</sup> The task of carrying the mail was undertaken by Maori employed in the government police force. *People of Many Peaks, 1769-1869*, p47.

<sup>161</sup> Pitt. A Ngati Awa chief called Te Piti appears in the Atkinson Letters (Letter34) and is also listed in a census in 1870; *AJHR* 1870, Vol.1, A No. 11, p7.

<sup>162</sup> In 1858 a government proclamation temporarily relaxed the restrictions on Maori purchase of guns, powder, lead and percussion caps; Cowan 1983, Vol.1, p164.

<sup>163</sup> Wharepu was a lower Waikato chief. At a meeting in 1860, his speech on arrival was, 'Call us, call us; bind the cord; make it fast; bind the tribes together; make fast the cords; hold them tight that the union be firm; it is not of yesterday, it is from time immemorial.' Thomas Buddle, *The Maori King Movement*, 1860, p41. In a subsequent speech he said, 'Let us love both the Pakeha and Maori; let this be the rule for all,

from upper Waikato to the sea gates. This is the work to talk about and to do; we have had enough of other things in days gone by.' *Ibid.*, p45.

<sup>164</sup> John Hobbs, a Wesleyan missionary. A Hone Ropiha was in 1857 a supporter of the sale of the Whakangerengere block, which he regarded as the key to the sale of Ikamoana. Ikamoana was the name of a pa in the Tarurutangi block, the sale of which led to the killing of Katatore in early 1858; Church 1992, p131.

## MS 31:35

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke<sup>165</sup>

Kei Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

Oketopa 25 1858

Haere atu ra e ta maua nei reta aroha ki to maua nei matua. E koro, tena koe koutou ko [o] tamariki.

Kua tae mai tau reta ki a matou kua kite matou e tika ana tau kupu. Kia rongo mai koe, ehara i a matou, na te tangata whenua i patai tonu ki a matou i nga taima katoa. No reira ka wakaae matou ki ta ratou kupu mo aua kai. Muri iho ka patua ano e matou, a, ka mate te ritenga o nga taewa. Engari ko nga wahie kua pau i a matou.

Ko aua<sup>166</sup> taewa kei te takoto noa.<sup>167</sup> Ki to matou whakaaro kia pirau noa atu ki roto ki te rua haua taewa. Heoi ano tenei.

Tenei hoki tetahi kupu mo Te Ranapia. Mau te ritenga mai mona.

Tenei hoki tetahi kupu na Pera Ngatawa. Mau te ritenga mai mo Tipoka,<sup>168</sup> mo te makamaka, no te mea kahore matou i te mohio ki te ritenga.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Ihaia Te Karawa

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<sup>165</sup> Text has Nagamoke.

<sup>166</sup> Transcription of ko aua conjectural.

<sup>167</sup> Transcription of noa conjectural.

<sup>168</sup> See map. According to the census of 1858, there were eighty-four people living at Tipoka, south of New Plymouth. After the battle of Waireka, at the start of the first Taranaki war, a large contingent of government troops destroyed, but did not burn, Tipoka pa; Greenwood 1967, p121.





**MS 31:35**

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

October 25 1858 .

Go our loving letter to our elder. Old friend, greetings to you and your children.

We have received your letter and recognise that your word is right. Listen here, it was not us, it was the people who lived there who kept asking us all the time and therefore we agreed to what they said about that food. Later we pounded [those potatoes], and the potato ruling failed. However, we used up all the firewood.

Those potatoes are just lying about. In our opinion, those potatoes should just be left in the pit to rot away. That's all of this.

This is another word concerning Te Ranapia. It is for you to give us a decision about him.

This is another word from Pera Ngatawa.<sup>169</sup> It is for you to give us a decision about Tipoka, about fishing with lines, because we do not know the way.

Well, that's all.

From Ihaia Te Karewa

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<sup>169</sup> Contraction of Apera (Abel).

## MS 31:38

Noema 1 1858

Tima<sup>170</sup> pa

E tama, e Tamati, tena koe.

Kua tae mai to korero ki [a] au. Kua tae mai hoki a Hoani, kua rongo au i ana korero, e pai ana ana kupu. Hoi enei korero.

E tama, he kupu hoki taku ki a koe. Kua tae mai te korerotanga ki konei. Koi[a] au [ka m]ea atu nei ki a koe, kua e tukua, kia nui te kino. Haere atu koe ki te muru i ena hee. E mea [ana] pea [a] te tangata ki, te painga tenei o te ao; e kore e wakaaro kia ora, kia pai, kia marire te ao ka wakaaro ai ki te oneone. Kua moe pea te tangata ki te po, he moe ora, koia i wakaaro ai me taupatupatu ai.

E tama, kia kaha te muru i ena he.

Heoi enei korero.

Na Erueti ki a Tamati

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<sup>170</sup> See map. Tima was a fortified pa that was included in the Wesleyan preaching circuit, according to the Wesleyan Missionary Society Circuit Report for 1856. It was destroyed by Major Nelson in June 1860; Cowan 1983, p191.

MS 31:38

November 1 1858

Tima pa

Son, Tamati, greetings.

I have received your word. Hoani has also arrived and I have heard what he has to say and I like his words. That is all about these matters.

Son, I also have a word for you. The discussion has reached here and that is why I say to you, do not give up. If the trouble becomes great, you go out to put right these wrongs. According to what men say, this is the benefit of the world. They will not think of the world being vital, good and peaceful, in order to concentrate on the land. A man may sleep at night - a restorative sleep, and so he thinks that he must battle on. Son, be strong to right these wrongs.

That ends these words.

From Erueti<sup>171</sup> to Tamati

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<sup>171</sup> Erueti (elsewhere Herueti) is assumed to be Erueti Te Whiti, and Tamati, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke on the basis of the pairing of the names 'Herueti' (Erueti) and Tamati Te Ito in Letter 223. Erueti Te Whiti became the prophet Te Whiti-o-Rongomai. Tamati later went to live with Te Whiti, and was said to be speaking there in 1875; *AJHR* 1876, Vol.2, G1, No.2. Te Whiti himself did not have a high opinion of 'prophets', and in the late 1860s referred to Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke as a *porewarewa*, which the reference translates as 'idiot'; *AJHR* 1870, Vol.1, A-16, p18. *Porewarewa* was the name given by Te Ua Haumene to his local priests, and in the Hauhau faith the term referred to the altered state of consciousness of being possessed by the Holy Spirit. In the 1870s the two men were seen by the settler press as rivals for influence, Tamati arguing for the dissolution of inter-tribal union in Taranaki. *The Taranaki Herald*, 29 October 1870 and 18 March 1871; see also *AJHR* 1871 Vol.2, F-No.6B, No.14. Erueti's use of pai and marire may foreshadow their pairing in the thought of Te Ua Haumene. See L. Head, 'The Gospel of Te Ua Haumene', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.101, No.1, March 1992, pp 7.

## MS 31:219

Waikawau<sup>172</sup>

Noema 2<sup>173</sup>

Haere ra e taku reta ki Waitara, ki a Tamati Te Ito, ki a Whiremu Te Rangitake, ki a Te Hapimana Toheroa.

E hoa ma, kua tae mai ta koutou reta ki a matou. E tika ana ta koutou kupu mo nga paura kawea mai na e Whiremu Te Motutere.

Whakarongo mai. Kua tae te kaitiki, kua kite ahau i a ratou, kua korero atu ahau ki a ratou me waiho o koutou taonga. Ma nga runanga e mahi kia kitea ai te tika, te he ranei.

Ko a matou kupu tenei, ko a te runanga katoa o Kawhia puta noa to matou rohe. Kaore nga runanga katoa e pai ana kia tukua mai nga paura ki a ratou.

Whakarongo mai. He kupu aroha tenei naku ki a koutou katoa i roto i te atawhai o to tatou Ariki a Ihu Karaiti.

Heoi ano enei korero aroha.

Na Rawenata, na te runanga katoa.

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<sup>172</sup> Waikawau was a pa on the coast, fourteen miles north of the Mokau river (see map). Smith 1984, p332.

<sup>173</sup> This undated letter appears to deal with the same subject as Letter 34, 18 October 1858, written from Waipa pa, near Kawhia, which also talks about Wiremu Te Motutere carrying powder.

Waikawau

November 2

Go my letter to Waitara, to Tamati Te Ito, to Whiremu Te Rangitake, to Te Hapimana Toheroa.

Friends, we have received your letter. Your word is fair with respect to the powder brought by Whiremu Te Moutere.<sup>174</sup> Listen here. The fetchers arrived, I saw them and I told them they'd better leave your goods. It is for the council to work at so that it can be seen if it's right or wrong.

This was our word, in fact that of all the councils throughout our district. None of the councils were satisfied that the powder should be sent to them.

Listen to me. This is a loving word of mine to you all in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>175</sup>

These are all the loving words from Rawenata,<sup>176</sup> from the entire council.

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<sup>174</sup> Wiremu Te Motutere was carrying the powder to Te Kaweka, the pa to which Ihaia Kirikumara fled after he was allowed to escape from Te Ikamoana; (see Letter 25). This letter is opposed to delivering gunpowder to Ihaia.

<sup>175</sup> While Tamati Te Ito Ngamokewas a former Wesleyan mission associate, and many of the writers were baptised Christians, this is the only letter in this study which employs a specifically Christian greeting.

<sup>176</sup> Rawenata of Ngati Ruahine was a signatory to an 1854 letter to the Resident Magistrate of Whanganui which set up restrictions on land sale, following the Manawapou meeting at Taiporohenui to delineate land boundaries; Church 1992, p117. Rawenata is a transliteration of an as yet unknown English name.

## MS 31:39

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke  
Kei Te Whanga pa e noho ana

Tiwarawara pa  
Noema 4 1858 o nga tau

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki toku matua, ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. E hoa, tena koe. Ka nui taku aroha atu ki a koe i roto i enei ra, ta te mea kua mate teta[hi] o aku tamariki, ara, a Honeru. E noho pani ana au i enei ra mo taku tamaiti.

E hoa, tena korua ko to waereere me to kotiro. Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koutou. Heoi ano.

He waiata:

Moe mai, e 'Neru, i roto i to whaka koputai.  
'Ore te waka o Tawaki i wano ai ki te mate oti atu.  
Ke<sup>177</sup> hua mai koutou kei te noho pono au e noho nei.  
Koua puare puku e roto i ahau  
Ki a Honeri, te tau o taku ate, ka mau nei kei waho.  
Noho kau nei, e hoki mai ranei i te rangi tuatahi ki a au.

Mau e whakamutu.

E hoa, e Tamati, he kupu ke tenei naku ki a koe. E whakaaronga naku ki to maua waka, ko Moreinaha. Kia haere matou ki te mahi i taua waka hei waka ano ki reira inaianei. Kei a koe hoki te ritenga.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Te Warihi

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<sup>177</sup> Read as kei.

## MS 31:39

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke living at Te Whanga pa

Tiwarawara pa

November 4 1858 of the years

Go my loving letter to my elder, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. Friend, greetings. I miss you a lot these days because one of my children, namely, Honeru,<sup>178</sup> has died. These days I am bereft on account of my son.

Friend, greetings to you, your wife and your daughter. Great is my love for you. That's all.

A song:

Sleep on, 'Neru,<sup>179</sup> in your canoe cradled in the deep.

Oh how Tawaki's<sup>180</sup> canoe leads to eternal death.

Do not be so sure that I'm living here in comfort.

My innermost feelings have been laid bare

To Honeri, my heartstring, now fixed outside.

Stay on here, or return to me from the first heaven.

You can complete it.

Friend, Tamati, this is a different word of mine to you. I have a plan for our canoe, More-i-naha. Let us go and make that canoe as a proper canoe for that place now. The decision is really with you.

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<sup>178</sup>Honeru is assumed to be Honeri, who is sick when he appears in Letter 31.

<sup>179</sup> Contraction of Honeru.

<sup>180</sup> Tawhaki is presented as the archetypal chief in waiata, see e.g., Mervyn McLean and Margaret Orbell, *Traditional Songs of the Maori* 1975, p28. In myth, Tawhaki ascends to the heavens, which he achieves through reciting a karakia containing the line: 'Cling, cling, like the lizard to the ceiling.' Taylor 1870, p141. Whether there is some inference in this waiata of significance for the Kaingarara is unclear, however Tawhaki's unsuccessful brother, Karihi, is associated with reptiles and repulsive creatures. Best (1982, p432, 428) identifies the canoe that Tawhaki made as one of his tasks in heaven as Te Rangipaenono.

Well, that's all.

From Te Warihi

**MS 31:216**

Ki a T[am]ati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Matakaha<sup>181</sup>

E hoa, e Tamati Te Ito, tena ra koe, korua ko to waereere ko to kotiro. Ka nui to matou aroha atu ko [o] matua ko [o] hoa i ta matou waihotanga atu, a mo [o] hoa [a]no. Anei he waiata:

Me mihi kau atu,

Me tangi atu,

I te ao e rere mai

Te Wanga.<sup>182</sup>

E Mati, tenei to wai': [ ] te moea iho nei - mau e wakamutu atu, ratou ko [o] tuakana ko o teina ko au tamariki e tata ana ki a k[o]e, ko to matua ka tae atu na.

E koro, e Wiremu Kingi, tena ra ko[e]. Kua tae mai tau reta ki a matou [ ] tikanga o tou pe[ka]nga ki nga kainga o te iwi. Heoi tena.

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<sup>181</sup> Parts of this letter are in an advanced state of disintegration. Many passages are fragmentary and untranslatable. The square brackets used to indicate missing text do not offer a good indication of the extent of the damage. This undated letter has been placed here because Letter 39 is the last dated reference to the 'kotiro' who is assumed to be Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke's daughter. The letter also uses the verb peka, which seems to refer to the local fight mentioned in Letter 11 of June 1858.

<sup>182</sup> A version of this song was recorded in *Maori Mementoes* (1855, pp61-63) as a farewell letter to Governor Grey from Taraia Ngakuti of Thames. The text and Davis' loose 'translation' read: Me mutu kau atu/Me tangi kau atu/ I te ao e rere mai/ I tawhiti Kawana/ E arohatia nei e! Here will I weep and sigh/ O Governor for thee!/While in the distant sky/ The morning cloud I see,/ Which marks thy home - a sunny isle -/Where love awaits thee with her smile.



E noho i te taha o to tamaiti. Heoi tena.

E Mati, he raruraru to [m]atou ki to tau[a] heke ki a Taniora. Tae mai matou ki Waitaha, ka titiro matou ki te ahua kua kohia nga wae ira. E ka tae mai matou ki te kainga nei ka patai atu au ki a ia ki te take o tona mate. Ka mea mai kaore ia i te mohio, na nga tangata i [ ] mai [ ] o te [ ] o ana k[ ] [ ] au [ ] o ?Ihaia ano i [ ] me [ ] ka a [ ] a rapu [ ] a matou [ ] a tangata n[ ] a nga kau [ ] ku e toru na [?T]amati o [ ] a erua n[ ] [?T]amati ka We[ ] ra kotahi na Te Popata, e toru na Hone Koropanga kotahi ka kite au i ra ka takotoria na mo aku e toru kahi £ pauna, e rua [he]reni ka kite [a] Hone[ ] hi[ ] nea]. [ ] Ko etahi kahore ano.

Heoi ano nga ritenga kimi a matou tana mate, koia i tuhituhi atu ai ki a koe. Ki te oti mai hoki ia koe e pa[i] [a] na tuhituhia mai, ki te kahore, tuhituhi mai.

Heoi ano.

Na Horopapera

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## MS 31:216

Friend, Tamati Te Ito, greetings to you and your wife and your daughter. We – our elders and companions - were very sorry to leave you and your elders and companions, and all your friends.

Here is a song:

I must yearn,  
I must grieve,  
As the cloud streams  
From Te Wanga

O Mati, this is your song: 'As I was sleeping'... - you and your older and younger brothers and your children who are around you, and your elder, when he gets there, can finish it.

Old friend, Wiremu Kingi, greetings to you. We have received your letter to us [and the] decision to engage with the villages of the people. That is all of that. Stay beside your son. That is all of that.

O Mati, we have encountered a problem with our journey to Taniora. On reaching Waitaha, we saw how he looked – the legs are emaciated. When we reached this village I asked him the cause of his illness. He said he did not know, it was the people who [ ] of the [ ] of his [ ] [au] Ihaia himself [ ] about payments.[?one] pound two shillings. Hone saw [ ]

That is not yet all of the rulings we are looking for [regarding] his illness. That is why I am writing to you. If you have completed it, it is good that you write. If not, [still] write.

That is all.

From Horopapera<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Zerubbabel. This is Horopapera Te Ua, who became the prophet Te Ua Haumene and founded the Hauhau faith after a vision at Te Namu in September 1862 in which the Angel Gabriel assured him of God's favour and repeated the promises God made to Abraham; Head 1992. Te Ua, who was formerly a Wesleyan mission associate, was living at Matakaha in the late 1850s and early 1860s, where he led a King Movement runanga. See MS 31: 144.

## MS 31:41

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Whahanga pa

Tangiteroria whare

Te Poutoko pa

Taranaki

Nowema 13 1858

E koro, e Tamati, tena koe.

Kua tae mai tau reta ki [a] au. E pai ana nga kupu. E tika ana, e marama ana hau kupu mai ki [a] au me nga whakaatunga mai hoki o nga tikanga mo to matua, ara, mo Kerei kua tae mai nei ki [a] au, kua kite iho au. Heoi, kua marama tooku whakaaro atu.

Tena ra koe, e tama. Heoi tena ki a Tamati Ngamoke.

E koro, e Kerei, tena koe me o tamariki.

He kupu atu tenei naaku ki a koe. Kia tika tau noho i te aroaro o [o] tamariki. Kei awangawanga tau whakaaro, kia marama tou ngakau. Kia tika te noho, no te mea kei te tae marama mai nga reta ki [a] au. Engari kia manawanui koe. Ko nga mea o muri nei - kei a Niko te wakaaro. Heoi ano ki a Kerei.

Ka mutu.

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke na tou matua, na Te Ngahuru

**MS 31:41**

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Whahanga pa

Tangiteroria whare

Te Poutoko pa

Taranaki

November 13 1858

Old friend, Tamati, greetings to you.

I have received your letter. The words are good. Your words showing me the thoughts of your elder, Kerei,<sup>184</sup> which I have received and looked into, are right and clear. Now my mind is clear.

Greetings to you, son. That's all to Tamati Ngamoke.

Old friend, Kerei, greetings to you and your children.

This is what I have to say to you. It is right that you stay in the presence of your children. Let not your mind be troubled, let your heart be light and your living righteous, for the letters I have received are clear. But be steadfast. As for things to come, it is up to Niko.<sup>185</sup>

That's all.

To Kerei.

The end.

To Tamati Ngamoke from your elder, Te Ngahuru

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<sup>184</sup> Grey.

<sup>185</sup> Niko is a contraction of Nikorima, Nicodemus. A Nikorima was involved in Ihaia's attempt to sell land at Ikamoana in March 1857; Church 1992, p131.

## MS 31:43

Tiwarawara

17 o nga ra o Noema 1858 o nga tau

Haere atu ra e ta matou reta aroha ki to matou matua aroha, ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tena koe. Ka nui to matou aroha atu ki a koe.

E hoa, kua korero matou ki a Te Kepa kia hoki mai ia ki to matou pa, hara, ki Tiwarawara. Kua whakaae mai ia, hotira e tiaki ana ia ki te whakahoki mai i tona pukapuka i t[ ]<sup>186</sup> atu na ki a koe engari me whakahoki mai e koe tana pukapuka. Heoi tena kupu.

He kupu ke tenei. E hoa, kua mahue i a Te Kepa tona hoa hotira i a raua tahi. I taku korerotanga ki a Te Kepa kia hoki mai ia ki tua nei, ka mea mai ia ki a au, 'Ko au anake.'

Ka mea atu au ki a ia, 'Ko korua tahi te haere ake.'

Ka mea mai ia ki a au, 'Kua korero ai maua ko Tamati i Waiwiri.'

Koia au i mea atu ai ki a koe kia tuhituhia mai e koe he ritenga [ ]<sup>187</sup> reta, ara, mo ta Te Kepa kia hohoro ai matou te marama.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Te Warihi

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<sup>186</sup> Illegible.

<sup>187</sup> Illegible.

## MS 31:43

Tiwarawara

17<sup>th</sup> day of November of the year 1858

Go our loving letter to our beloved elder, Tamati Te Ito. Friend, greetings to you. Great is our love for you.

Friend, we have told Te Kepa that he should return to our pa, that is, to Tiwarawara. He has agreed, however he is waiting for a reply to his letter [ ] to you, but you had better reply to his letter. That is all of that word.

This is a different word. Friend, Te Kepa has deserted his wife.<sup>188</sup> When I told Te Kepa to come back over this way, he said to me, 'It will only be me.'

I said to him, 'You are both to come.'

He said to me, 'Tamati and I have spoken at Waiwiri.'

That's the reason I said to you that you should write a ruling [for that] letter, that is, for Te Kepa's letter, so that we will know quickly.

Well, that's all.

From Te Warihi

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<sup>188</sup> Desertion of a spouse indicated the dissolution of marriage in Maori society. There was no ritual attached; Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage; an essay in reconstruction*, 1960, p80. Letter 30 says that Te Kepa had behaved adulterously.

## MS 31:42

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Te Wanga pa

Tiwarawara pa

Noema 18 1858 o nga tau

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tena koe. Kua tae mai tau reta aroha ki [a] au. E pai ana tau kupu.

He kupu ke tenei. E hoa, kua oti tetahi o ho matou whaka, ara, to Te Retimana. A te Mane ka toia ki Ohawe.<sup>189</sup> Mau hoki e wakaatu mai he ritenga mo to matou whaka.

Heoi ano.

Na Te Warihi

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<sup>189</sup> See map. According to Houston, the full name is Ohawetokotoko. Houston 1965, p149. Church (1983 p120) says that Ohawe had a rich snapper, kahawai, hapuku, eel and shellfish fishery.

**MS 31:42**

To Tamati Te Ito at Te Wanga pa

Tiwarawara pa

November 18 1858 of the years

Go my loving letter to Tamati Te Ito. Friend, greetings to you. I have received your loving letter.  
Your word is good.

This is a different word. Friend, one of our canoes has been completed, namely the one for Te Retimana.<sup>190</sup> On Monday it will be dragged to Ohawe. It is for you to provide an instruction for our canoe.

That is all.

From Te Warihi

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<sup>190</sup> Richmond. Possibly after a Taranaki settler and politician of that name.



## MS 31:44

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Te Waanga

Te Ruatauroa pa

Noema 18 1858

Haere ra e taku reta ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tenei ano taku kupu. Kia rongo mai koe. E kimi ana matou i te ritenga o te ika kawē mai ki Ware[a]. 'Oi ra, mau e wakamarama mai ki a matou taua tikanga kia rongo matou.

Tenei hoki tetahi kupu naku. E kimi ana au i te ritenga o taku aho kei Warea e takoto ana. Kaore ano i kawea ki te moana, otira mau te ritenga. Tuhituhia mai ki [a] au taua ritenga.

Heoi ano.

Na to tamaiti, na Perahuha<sup>191</sup>

E hoa, e Tamati, kimihia mai tetahi rino maku hei matau rino. Ata iti marire hei matau mango maku. Mau e homai ki a Te Mihana.<sup>192</sup>

Heoi ano.

Na Perahuha

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<sup>191</sup> Belshazzar.

<sup>192</sup> Transcription of name uncertain.

## MS 31:44

To Tamati Te Ito at Te Waanga

Te Ruatauroa pa

November 18 1858

Go my letter to Tamati Te Ito. Friend, this is my word. Hear me. We are searching for the ruling on the fish brought to Warea. Well then, it is for you to explain that business to us so that we may know it.

This is another word from me. I am searching for the ruling for my fishing line which is lying at Warea.<sup>193</sup> I have not yet taken it to the sea but it is for you to [declare] the ruling. Write that ruling to me.

That's all.

From your child, Perahuha<sup>194</sup>

Friend, Tamati, Search out a piece of iron for me for an iron fishhook.<sup>195</sup> Don't let it be inferior for a shark hook for me.<sup>196</sup> Will you give it to Te Mihana.

That's all.

From Perahuha

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<sup>193</sup> Asking Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke for ritenga is a major theme of the letters. At present these ritenga remain obscure, as does any possible relationship to past customs. Elsdon Best makes a rather vague comment that 'the first use of a fishing line' sometimes involved ceremonial observances', involving the wetting of the line, however it is not at all clear that Kaingarara practices were 'traditional'. Elsdon Best, *Fishing methods and devices of the Maori*, 1986, p45.

<sup>194</sup> Perahuha = Perahaha, Belshazzar.

<sup>195</sup> According to Best, 1986, p51, shoaling barracouta were killed in the water with wooden clubs with a nail in the end, or with lines to which 'a small piece of wood with a crooked nail in it' was attached. Best says that Maori often preferred to make their own metal hooks from pieces of iron and copper rather than to use manufactured hooks; *ibid.*, p8.

<sup>196</sup> Translation conjectural.

## MS 31:45

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauai pa

Waitaha

Noewema [sic] 19 1858

Haere atu ra e ta maua nei reta aroha ki to maua nei hoa, ki a Tamati Te Ito. Tena koutou ko au tamariki. Ka nui to matou aroha atu ki a koutou katoa [e] noho mai ra i tena kainga a tatou. Tenei hoki matou te noho nei i tenei kainga o tatou.

E hoa, kia rongu mai koe. Kua w[a]kaae a Aperahama a Te Kuhakuha ki nga kapa mo te ture kia homai ki a maua, ki te kaingarara.

E hoa, kei [a] Apera ano te pouaka, kei a Himiona e takoto ana. Ma te tangata ano, mana, ma Paihika, no te mea kua w[a]kaae [a] Apera. Ehara i te mea hei taonga mona, mo te kaumatua. Mo nga tamariki ano henei taonga, mo Himiona, mo Paihikia, mo Poharama. Heoi ano aku tamariki hei mau i enei taonga.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Ihaia raua ko Te Watarauhi

Kaiw[a]kawa.

**MS 31:45**

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Te Wanga Pa, Waitara

Te Hauai pa, Waitaha

November 19, 1858

Go, our loving letter, to our friend Tamaiti Te Ito. Greetings to you and your children. Our love for you all living at that settlement of ours is great. We are living at this settlement of ours here.

Friend, hear me. Aperahama and Te Kuhakuha have agreed that the money for the benefit of the law should be given to us, the Kaingarara.

Friend, Apera actually has the box. It is in Himiona's possession. It is for the man himself, for him, for Paihika, because Apera has agreed. It is not as if it is to be a possession for him, the elder. This treasure is for the children - for Himiona, for Paihikia and for Poharama. These are all my children who are to possess these things.

Well, that's all.

From Ihaia and Te Watarauhi, Judge

## MS 31:46

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Whaanga

Tihema 1 1858

Rangiaohia<sup>197</sup>

Haere atu ra e taku reta, kawea toku aroha ki toku tuakana, ki a Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tena ra koe.  
Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe.

E hoa, tenei taku kupu. Kia rongu mai koe mo ta taua korerotanga i toku taenga atu ki runga. Na, ka mea koe kia hoki atu au ki runga ki to taua oneone e tika ana. Kia rongu mai koe. Kei te mahara tonu ano au ki taua korero a taua, kaore ahau e wareware, engari ki te tae atu taku reta ki a koe tuhia mai hoki mau kia kite ahau.

He waiata:

‘Ra te haeata na runga ana mai  
O te ripa tara ki Muturangi<sup>198</sup> kia tangi atu au.  
Kei runga te kanohi me ko Tawera i te pae  
Araia mai au e te ururakau  
Te kite atu au i te kare a roto  
Naana nei au i wakakainga nui ki te mahi!  
Waiho au e te hoa ka kahurangi noa.

Heoi ano.

Na Karaka Te Matau Owiti

---

<sup>197</sup> Rangiaohia was a pa in the Waikato.

<sup>198</sup> Muturangi is possibly Omuturangi (see map). Possibly Moturangi, which is mentioned as a place in Taranaki near Okurukuru (see map), around which area many of the letters were written.

## MS 31:46

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Whaanga.

December 1 1858

Rangiaohia.

Go, my letter, carry my love to my elder brother, Tamati Te Ito. Friend, greetings, great is my love for you.

Friend, this is my word. Hear me on the subject of our conversation when I came south. You said I should go back onto our land to the south.<sup>199</sup> It is true. Hear me. I am still thinking about that conversation of ours, I do not forget it, however if you received my letter you must reply so that I may see.

A song:

Day dawns over the highest peak of Maturangi and I lament.

I raise my face to Tawera<sup>200</sup> on the horizon.

A grove of trees obstructs my view

And I cannot see my heart's desire.

He was the one who led me to do these things!

My friend, my precious one, has left me.

That's all.

From Karaka Te Matau Owiti

---

<sup>199</sup> Throughout this study, runga is translated as south and raro as north on the strength of this letter. Karaka Te Matau Owiti is writing from the Waikato in the north, therefore his discussion about returning to his lands must mean returning southwards.

<sup>200</sup> Venus, the morning star, which is identified in poetry with an absent loved one.

**MS 31:47**

Na Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Na Tihema 2 1858 tau

E whaka[a]e ana a Kamira ki tona hoiho kia waiho ki a Erueti. Mana e tiaki, oti noa te kuao, ma Matiu. Ko te hoiho, ma Te Turi e tiaki, oti noa.

Na Kamira Pango

Na Matiu Hie

Na Tamati Ngamoke

**MS 31:47**

From Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

On December 2, year 1858

Kamira<sup>201</sup> has agreed his horse should be left with Erueti. The one who will take care of the foal permanently is Matiu.<sup>202</sup> As for the horse, Te Turi will care for it permanently.

From Kamira Pango

From Matiu Hie

From Tamati Ngamoke

---

<sup>201</sup> Camillus.

<sup>202</sup> Matthew.



# MS 31:217

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Wanga pa

Keteonetea pa

Ti[hem]a 19 o nga [ra] 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki a Tamati.

E hoa, no te Paraire au i tae mai ai. Ko taku taenga mai kua riro te waka ki Ohawe. No taku taenga mai ka korerotia e au te kiana mai ki a au kia toia ki Waihi<sup>203</sup> te waka. Ka pouri a Panapa mo ta ratou toaanga [sic] ki Ohawe. Ka mea ratou kia toia mai ki Waihi. No te Mane i kawea ai ki Waihi a Maru k[e]. Ki te he koe, mau e tuhi mai, kia h[o]ro mai. Heoti tena kupu.

Tenei hoki tetei k[ ] waka o Horomona. Kei te korororotia e ratou ano e Hone Taraiti. Kaore a Horomona i whai kupu atu. Ki a tana korero ko [ ] kore[ro] kua mutu i mutu pai, otira m[au] e kimi mai te he. Ki te kite koe tu[hia] m[ai]. He pouri [ ] t[e]na kupu.

E hoa, kua moe maua ko Riria.<sup>204</sup> Kua whaka[ae] a kia [ ] a ana tikanga.

Heoti ano.

Naku, na Te Kepa.

---

<sup>203</sup> See map. There are two places with this name. One is at the head of a river that flows to Ohawe, the other is on the coast near New Plymouth. The reference to dragging the canoe suggests that the first Waihi, which is near Keteonetea, is referred to in this letter.

<sup>204</sup> Lydia.

MS 31:217

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Te Wanga pa

Keteonetea pa

December 19th of the [days] 1858

Go, my letter, to Tamati.

Friend, it was on Friday I arrived. By the time I arrived the canoe had been taken to Ohawe. When I arrived it was discussed with me and I was told that the canoe should be should be dragged to Waihi. Panapa was dark<sup>205</sup> about their dragging of the canoe to Ohawe. They said it should be dragged to Waihi. Instead, Maru<sup>206</sup> was brought to Waihi. If you disagree, please write to me at once. That's all that word.

This is another [?word about] Horomona's<sup>207</sup> canoe, spoken by them and Hone Taraiti. Horomona did not speak.<sup>208</sup> According to what he says [ ] speech has ended, ended well, however it is for you to consider the fault. If you see it, write to me. [I am] grieved by that word.

Friend, Riria and I are married.<sup>209</sup> [?We] have agreed, and her rulings are to be [ ].

That's all.

From me, Te Kepa

---

<sup>205</sup> Pouri means upset, but the sense is more complex than the 'sad' that often appears as its translation today. The translation of pouri as 'dark' was often used in the 1850s and has been retained here as expressing the state of brooding (darkness) which preceded, and required, action to dispell.

<sup>206</sup> A canoe. See Letter 49.

<sup>207</sup> Solomon.

<sup>208</sup> From this point on the condition of the letter means that the translation is incomplete and partly conjectural.

<sup>209</sup> A woman called Riria also features in Letter 67.

## MS 31:48

Ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke

Kei Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

Tihema 21 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki toku matua, ki a Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. E koro, tena koe.

He ritenga tenei kua tae mai ki a au. Na nga tangata o Wara<sup>210</sup> i mea mai te kupu kia haere atu etahi tamariki hei hoehoe kahawai, he tirohanga atu no ratau ki te kahawai e tu ana i te moana. Ka kimi mai ratou ki a matou kia haere atu hei hoehoe. Ka rapu au i konei, kahore i marama i au no konei ka tuhia atu taku reta ki a koe. Mau e whakamarama mai taua ritenga.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Te Watarauhi, Kaiwhakawa

---

<sup>210</sup> Probably Warea.

MS 31:48

To Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke at Te Wanga pa

Waitara

Te Hauwai pa

Waitaha

December 21 1858

Go, my letter, to my elder, Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. Old friend, greetings to you.

This is a ruling which I have received. The people of Wara said some children should keep going out for kahawai, because they saw the kahawai standing upon the sea.<sup>211</sup> They looked for us to go out repeatedly.<sup>212</sup> I am seeking advice on this because it is not clear to me hence I have written my letter to you. Will you clarify that matter to me.

Well, that's all.

From Te Watarauhi, Judge

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<sup>211</sup> Kahawai enter river mouths with the tide; Hursthouse 1849, p25. Edward Jerningham Wakefield reported seeing 26 canoes fishing for kahawai in the lower Whanganui river. Their hooks were wood, in the shape of a fish and inlaid with paua shell to make a lure; a bone hook was inserted at the end; Best 1986, p40.

<sup>212</sup> An observation by Elsdon Best may explain this passage. Best states that kahawai would not 'take a still bait, so that the canoes move up and down the river at full speed, with the lines dragging behind them. The fishery thus presents a most lively appearance'; *ibid.*, p40.

**MS 31:49**

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Te Wanga

Waitara

Keteonetea

Tihema 27 1858

Haere atu ra e taku reta aroha ki toku hoa aroha, ki [a] Tamati Te Ito. E hoa, tena koe, ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe.

E hoa, kia rongo mai koe. Kua pakaru te waka hou, ara a Maru. No 21 o nga ra i pakaru ai. Kokiria, pakarutia ana e matou ki te moana.

E rua putanga ki te moana i te ra kotahi. Ko nga ika o te tuatahi, i pau katoa te tuna ki te ahi. Ko nga ika o te tuarua e 80, [8] tekau nga mango i tahuna katoatia ki te ahi. Kahore tetahi i waiho.

Ko tenei kei pouri mai koe ki te pakarutanga o tou waka. Kua oti ta matou komiti kia tikina tetahi totara kia tataria he riwi, mai hoki [i] te ritenga wai.

Heoi ano, ka mutu.

Na Panapa Poa

MS 31:49

To Tamati Te Ito at Te Wanga

Waitara

Keteonetea

December 27 185801

Go, my loving letter, to my beloved friend, Tamati Te Ito. Friend, greetings, great is my love for you.

Friend, hear me. The new canoe, that is to say, Maru,<sup>213</sup> has been smashed. It was on the day of the 21st that it was smashed. We pushed it out and smashed it at sea.

We went to sea twice on the one day. Of the fish of the first trip, the eels were completely consumed in the fire. Of the fish of the second trip, 80 sharks<sup>214</sup> were completely burned in the fire. Not one was left.

Now don't you be dark at the destruction of your canoe. Our committee has finished fetching a totara to make a replacement since the water ritual.

Well, that's all.

From Panapa Poa<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Maru was described by Percy Smith as the 'principal god' and the 'god of war' of Ngati Awa and all the descendants of Turi and the Aotea canoe. Maru was represented in a stone; Smith 1984, pp220-221. According to Margaret Orbell, he was a hungry god who was, among other things, given to eat the heads of all the fish that people caught. Maru was associated on the West Coast with the evil god Whiro and with reptile gods. Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, Canterbury, Canterbury University Press, 1995, p106. According to Elsdon Best, Maru was also the personified form of a phenomenon of light, sometimes a rainbow, whose position was either a good or bad omen for an advancing war party; Best, *Religion and Mythology*, 1976, Vol.2, pp 303, 610. According to Rev. Thomas Hammond, a dog would be sacrificed to Maru following a storm. Hammond noted that Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke burned the god Maru in 1855, the stone breaking in pieces; T.G. Hammond, *The Story of Aotea*, 1924, pp 132-133.

<sup>214</sup> Spiny dogfish, which come in close to shore, are found in quantities around New Zealand coasts, and may be the sharks referred to here.

<sup>215</sup> Poa may be a transliteration, perhaps of 'Poore'. Letter 69 is written by Panapa Te Hokinga, who is possibly the same man.

## MS 31:52

Te Whanga pa

Maehe [6] 1859

[ ma]<sup>216</sup> ka patai atu a Tamati ki a Ramari, 'Tena, e kore ranei koe e pai ki nga pauna e toru?'

Ka ki mai ia, 'Ae, e pai ana au. Ae, e pai ana au kia wakamutua. Kei nga taewa ka utua mai, kei nga witi ka utua mai.'

Na Ramari Hineika

Arama Tamarua, Kaititiro

Na Paki, Kaituhituhi

Na Tamati Ngamoke

Na Te Warihi

---

<sup>216</sup> Illegible.

**MS 31:52**

Te Whanga pa

March [6] 1859

[    ] Tamati asked Ramari<sup>217</sup> whether or not she would be happy with £3. She said, 'Yes, it is satisfactory. Yes, it is satisfactory.'

Let it be closed. It will be paid in potatoes and wheat.

From Ramari Hineika

Arama<sup>218</sup> Tamarua, Witness

From Paki,<sup>219</sup> Recorder

From Tamati Ngamoke

From Te Warihi

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<sup>217</sup> Damaris, the name of a New Testament Greek Christian.

<sup>218</sup> Adam.

<sup>219</sup> Fox, after William Fox, the New Zealand Company's resident agent in Nelson and later MHR for Whanganui, or Puckey, after the missionary of that name.



Ki a Tamati Ngamoke  
Kei Te Puata<sup>220</sup>

Te Poutoko  
Noema 22 1859

Haere ra e taku reta ki a Tamati raua ko Ropata. Tena korua.

Kia rongo mai korua. Kaore matou i whakarongo ki a korua kupu ko to taina. To matou taenga ki runga, ka patai mai to korua matua ki a matou. Ka korerotia atu e Hemi ki a ia, ka oti, katahi ia ka waka[e]e mai - e pai ana ta raua kupu, e marama ana. Muri iho ka wehewehea e ia, a ka ki mai ia, 'Me mahi koutou.'

Ka kimi matou, kaore i kitea. Ko te kupu i kitea e matau ko te kupu o te haka rara e mate koe i te ua. Tenei to Hama rara e mate ai tou, kia kaha tonu mai. Ko a matou nei kupu tena ki roto ki te ara korero a Te Popokorua.

Ka tae ki te ahiahi, ka hui mai [i] Te Popokorua. Ka hui maua ki te whare. Ka tu atu a Te Ngahuru, ka tono i a Hemi kia rongo [a] Te Kuri nei i taua wakaaro. Ka tu mai na [a] Hemi Parai ki runga. Ko ana kupu tenei ko ana ringa kia [a]wi ki Okurukuru,<sup>221</sup> ki Moturangi.<sup>222</sup> Ko tana i pai ai ko

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<sup>220</sup>See map. Te Puata was a pa on the Waiongana river between Waitara and Te Poutoko. According to *The Taranaki Herald* 10 March 1860, Te Puata was a river crossing at 'the pa of the prophet', Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke. Tamati was typically peripatetic. In 1856 he was living at Paraiti, on the Bell block. In 1858 he moved from there to Te Whanga. This is the first of three letters (Nos. 64, 68, 69) which indicate that Tamati was living at Te Puata between November and December 1859. In 1906, at the end of his life, he was again living at Paraiti.

<sup>221</sup> See map. Okurukuru is a small stream that constituted the boundary between the settlers and the Tapuae block. The boundary which ran from Okurukuru to Kaiwi was set at the meeting at Manawapou in 1854 and marked the limit Maori set to land available for Pakeha settlement. In 1856 the Ngati Ruanui chief Te Rei [Hanataua], accompanied by 100 armed followers plus 50 unarmed Taranaki, tried to persuade the Tapuae people to 'intrust Okurukuru to their care, lest that boundary should all fall into the hands of the white men.' Tamati Wiremu and the people of Tapuae rejected the Ngati Ruanui plan, but did not sell the land. Edward Hill, 'There was a Taranaki land league', Wellington Historical Association, 1968.

<sup>222</sup> See map. Possibly Omuturangi, Church writes that 'North of 'Omuturangi' to 'Okurukuru', a stream at Omata, is the homeland of the Taranaki tribe'; Church 1992, p2.

Tamati ka pou nga tapu ka noho ano ia ki runga ki tona pihi wenua. E kore ia e pai ki te kingi kia hoatu toku pihi wenua. Ka mutu tana.

Kei runga ko Mohi Tawaimua. Ko nga kupu tenei. 'Hoki mai inaianei ano!'

Kei runga ko Te Peina, ko ana kupu ano.

Kei runga ko Himiona ko Ihaka. Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko au. Na, ko ta matou nei kupu, 'Tena, ko te haka na, ki te kite korua, wakamaramatia mai e korua.'

Heoi ano.

Na Te Honiana

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Puata

Te Poutoko

November 22 1859

Go, my letter, to Tamati and Ropata. Greetings to you.

Listen here. We did not listen to your's and your younger brother's words. When we got up there your elder questioned us. Hemi<sup>223</sup> spoke to him and when they finished he then agreed. Their word was good and clear. Later he separated [them] and he said, 'You had better do it.'

We searched it out, but did not understand. The word we did understand was the word of that haka that 'the rain will destroy you'. However, as for Hama's word that yours will be destroyed, keep up your strength.<sup>224</sup> That was our word within the path of Te Popokorua's speaking.<sup>225</sup>

When evening came, we met with Te Popokorua and congregated at the house. Te Ngahuru stood and Hemi was requested [to speak] so that Te Kuri<sup>226</sup> here should hear his thoughts. When Hemi Parai<sup>227</sup> stood up his word was this, 'His hands should meet at Okurukuru and Moturangi.' What he wanted was for Tamati to put in the tapu and dwell again on his block of land. He will not agree to the king<sup>228</sup> being given his block of land. His speech finished.

Mohi Tawaimua<sup>229</sup> got up. The word was this, 'Come back at once.'

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<sup>223</sup> James Bly.

<sup>224</sup> Translation tentative. Letter 68, written by Ngahuru on 10 December, contains a discussion by some of the same people mentioned in this letter of where the headquarters of the council should be located. This may suggest that this letter contains the beginning of this discussion.

<sup>225</sup> Letter 68, written by Ngahuru on 10 December, also mentions Te Popokorua. The name, here apparently referring to a man, is also used as a collective, as in the proverb *Te rau o Popokorua (the multitude of Popokura)* i.e. of the ant.

<sup>226</sup> According to Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1870, pp 168-169, there was a Roman Catholic chief of this name living at Motukaramu in north Taranaki.

<sup>227</sup> James Bligh.

<sup>228</sup> King Potatau Te Wherowhero.

<sup>229</sup> In 1865 Hemi Parai complained that he had not shared in the payments for Waitotara, which he claimed belonged to him and Mohi, presumably the Mohi(Moses) of this letter; *AJHR* 1866,A1 No.13 Encl.2, p17,

Te Peina<sup>230</sup> got up and his words were the same.

Himiona<sup>231</sup> and Ihaka<sup>232</sup> got up.

They finished. I got up and our word was, 'As for that haka, if you two understand it, explain it to us.'

That is all.

From Te Honiana<sup>233</sup>

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Rihari Mokaikereru, Hakaraia Te Poho and Hemi Parai to Governor. Grey, 27 June 1865, Te Aro pa, Wellington.

<sup>230</sup> Bain or Spain. William Spain investigated pre-Treaty land purchases in the 1840s.

<sup>231</sup> Simeon.

<sup>232</sup> Isaac.

<sup>233</sup> Johnson.

## **MS 31:67**

Te Puata

Tihema 6th 1859

Ko te korero tenei mo Mere raua ko Maraea.

**Na wai [i] kite nga uru?**

[I] taku kitenga, katahi ka kawea e au kia kite ratou.

**Tohu patai:**

I kitea e au ki roto ki te panekoti o Mere. Kawea e au ki a ratou, kawea e au. Katahi ka kawea e au ki a ratou.

**Tohu:**

Na maua ko Mere i kite i roto i te pa.

**Tohu:**

I roto i te pouaka.

**Tohu:**

To maua haeretanga atu. Ka tae taku hoa, huakina ana te pouaka, ka kitea nga uru. Ka ki mai taku hoa 'E hine, tenei.'

**Tohu:** Na wai te pouaka?

No Ngapei.

**Tohu:**

He korororero noa iho na maua.

**Tohu:**

Kaore au i te mohio ki tena.

**Tohu:**

He kimi noa iho na maua.

**Tohu:**

Na taku hoa i ki mai ki[a] kimi maua.

**Tohu:**

Ae.

**Tohu:**

No nga uru o mua.

**Tohu:**

Aua.

**Tohu:**

Ka ki kia huna; kia kite raua [i] nga uru o mua ka waki ai.

**Tohu:**

Ka ki ra maua he uru tane.

**Tohu:**

Wakamate. Ae. Ehara anake i a maua.

**Tohu:**

Na te tokomaha noa iho.

**Tohu:**

Ko [o] Kara mara.

**Tohu:**

Kohuru.

**Tohu:**

Wakatika, e tika ana tena.

**Tohu:**

Kohuru, ae.

Kua tae tenei he ki a Maraea raua ko Meri Tamiora. Ko te ingoa o tenei he heremina. Na, penei me te tangata e ki[i]a ana kia patua, ka rokohanga e te rangona, ka ora.

**Tohu:**

I te ata o te Turei i muri ano o matou ka haere ia ki te kimi. Rokohanga atu e ia i runga i taku moenga. Ko tona korero tenei ki a matou. 'Wakaparitea atu e ia kia kawē [ ]<sup>234</sup> mutu, ka haere ake ia ki a matou. Ka karanga tiohoohe ake ia ki [ ]. Ka ki atu au 'E hoa, he aha tena?'

Ka ki mai ia, 'He uru.'

Ka ki atu au, 'Tena koe.'

Ka ki mai ia, 'E kore au e waki atu ki a koe!'

Ka ki atu au, 'He aha rawa?'

Ka tono atu e au ka homai ki a au wakaparitea atu e au ki a Riria karangatia ana e Riria ha Ngapei.

Ka ki mai ha raua, 'Nau pea henei uru?'

Ka ki atu au, 'Kaore haku uru.'

Otira ka ki atu ha Riria, 'I kitea e koe ki wea enei uru?'

Ka ki mai ha ia, 'I kitea e au ki te moenga o Mere i tona urunga i te taha o te ahi.'

Ka tohe tonu mai ratou ki a au. Ka ki atu au, 'I kitea e koe ki wea?'

Ka kite mai ha Maraea, 'Ki to moenga.'

Ka ki atu au, 'Kotahi ano haku uru e mau nei au – he uru wahine.'

Ka karanga mai ia, 'No [w]ai nga uru?'

Ka ki atu au, 'No Pirihira, i to matou haerenga ki te urunga. Ka tae matou ki Wareroa ka homai ki a au. I to matou haerenga mai, wareware noa iho au ki te hakiri. Tae mai matou ki konei ka haere matou ki te horoi, w[a]kamu[tu], ka noho au ki te [ ]<sup>235</sup>maua ko Meri. Ka ki atu au, 'Kiia mai e hoa.'

**Tena, ka kite ra ha ia i te panekoti?**

Ka ki mai ia, 'He aha tenei?'

Ka ki atu au, 'He uru.'

Ka tohe mai ha ia. Ka ki atu au, 'Tena iana kia kite koe.'

Ka kite ha ia, 'Waiho noa iho e ia te panekoti ka hoki mai maua ki te kainga.'

Kaore hona kianga mai no [w]ai ranei, kaore hoki haku kianga atu. Noho nei, a, korerotia ana e ia kite ia i nga uru, he uru kehu i roto i taku panekoti inaianei. Ka kitea nei nga uru nei ka korerotia ake e ia i kitea ki taku moenga, kaore ona kianga ake i kitea e ia ki roto ki te pouaka. Ko to ratou kianga mai he uru tane. Ka ki atu au, 'Kaore tena iana kia haere au kia tiki i nga uru! Taku taenga atu kua pakaru te panekoti.' Ka ki atu au, 'E Pei, kua tuku ano kua pakaru te panekoti i a ia hoki koa te panekoti.'

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<sup>234</sup> Illegible.

<sup>235</sup> Illegible.



Ka tohe ratou ki a au. Kaore he kianga mai a Maraea no roto i taku panekoti penei. Kaore au e tae mai ki a Tamati nei ra. Ko tona tohe i kitea e ia ki runga ki taku urunga, no konei au ka kaha mai ki te haere mai ki konei.

Ko a Mere korero enei.

Ko te tikanga ia o nga uru i a Mere. No Pirihira Te Kohupita o uru wero.

**Tohu patai:**

Ki a Huihana. Ka ki mai ia, 'Kaore au i te mohio.'

**Tohu patai:**

Ki a Rawiri. Ka ki mai ia, 'Kaore au i te mohio ki taua mahi.'

Noema 19 1860

Ko te otinga o nga pauna e wha. Kua oti o [ ]<sup>236</sup>.

Na Tamati<sup>237</sup>

Ka karangatia ano kia tuaruatia. Ka mea ano ha Mere me utu. Kei to te ture ano tona ritenga. Kotahi pauna ma Maraea, kotahi pauna ma Meri. Ma raua tokorua e utu – na raua tokorua i patu ha Mere.

**Tohu patai:** E Rae, ko te utu koe i a Mere?

Ae.

Mo a whea ka utu?

Taihoa kia tae ki te tekau ma witu o Tihema.

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<sup>236</sup> Illegible.

<sup>237</sup> The following section is scored through in the manuscript: Kua oti te wakawa kua tohu [ ] ki te tohu wakaea i te mate o Mere. ka nui te marama o te whakaaro o Mere kaore ia i pai kia utua tana mate hei kupu pono tenei ana ranei kaore te ture e pai ki tenei kupu.

Ka utua e au, pono tonu - Ko Maraea.

Ka tuhia nga ingoa o nga Kaititiro:

Tamati Ngamoke

Reweti

Watarauihi

Pane

Manahi

Kaititiro

R.H.

**MS 31:67**

Te Puata

December 6th 1859.

This is the report in respect of Mere and Maraea.<sup>238</sup>

**Who found the heads?**<sup>239</sup>

When I found [the heads] I then took them for them to see.

**Question:**

I found them inside Mere's petticoat. I took them to them, I took them, then I took them to them.

**Question:**

Mere and I found them inside the pa.

**Question:**

Inside the box.

**Question:**

As we were leaving. My husband arrived, opened the box and saw the heads. My husband said, 'Girl, there they are!'

**Question: Who does the box belong to?**

To Ngapei.<sup>240</sup>

**Question:**

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<sup>238</sup> In 1874 Huhana, Mere, Maraea and Riria, all women named in this document, signed a deed of sale for the Moa Whakangerengere blocks No.2 and No.3. Turton 1877-78, Vol.2 Part 1, pp39-42. Mere is Mary, Maraea = Mary.

<sup>239</sup> This document is a transcript of a local independent court hearing. The questions asked by the person conducting the trial or cross-examination are in most cases not recorded, but only indicated by the word tohu, short for tohu patai 'indication of question'. For ease of reading these indications are given in bold text.

It was just us talking.

**Question:**

I don't know that.

**Question:**

We were just looking.

**Question:**

It was my husband who said we should have a look.

**Question:**

Yes.

**Question:**

On account of the olden-day heads.

**Question:**

I don't know.

**Question:**

He said to hide them; if they find the olden-day heads, they'll tell.

**Question:**

We said then they were male heads.

**Question:**

Put to death, yes, it was not only us.

**Question:**

By just about all of us.

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<sup>240</sup> Ngapei was the sister of Wi Tana Ngatata and Wi Tako. In 1873 Ngapei signed a deed to sell the Moa block No.1 in the Puketapu district; Turton 1877-78, p38.

**Question:**

Kara's cultivations.

**Question:**

Foul play.

**Question:**

Correct, that's right.

**Question:**

Foul play, yes.

This crime has been attributed to Maraea and Meri Tamiora. The name of this crime is a *remina*.<sup>241</sup>  
It is like the man it is said should be killed. If he happens to overhear it, he escapes.

**Question:**

On the Tuesday morning following our [discovery] she went to find them. She chanced upon them on my bed. This was what she said to us – she *wakaparitea ki mutu*<sup>242</sup> she came to us. She called out anxiously to me. I said, 'Friend, what's that?'

She said, 'Heads.'

I said, 'Well then.'

She said, 'I will not show them to you.'

I said, 'Why not?'

I went in and she gave them to me. I *wakaparitea* them to Riria.<sup>243</sup> Riria called Ngapei. They said, 'Perhaps these heads belong to you?'

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<sup>241</sup> Transliteration; meaning unknown.

<sup>242</sup> Meaning unknown.

I said, 'I haven't got any heads.'

But Riria said, 'Where did you find these heads?'

I said, 'I found them on Mere's bed on her pillow beside the fire.'

They kept on at me and I said, 'Where did you find them?'

'Maraea found them on your bed.'

I said, 'I've only got one head – a woman's head!'

She called out, 'Who do the heads belong to?'

I said, To Pirihiira, when we went to the pillow. When we reached Wareroa she gave them to me. When we were coming here I just forgot what I'd heard. When we arrived here we went to wash. When that was done, I sat down so that Meri and I could [ ].<sup>244</sup> I said, 'Talk to me, friend.'

**Well, did she see the petticoat?'**

She said, 'What's this?'

I said, 'Heads.'

She kept at me, and I said, 'Well then, you should have a look.'

She saw and she just left the petticoat and we came back home. She said nothing about whose they were and I said nothing too. She sat and said she saw the heads, reddish heads inside my petticoat now. She saw the heads and she said she saw them in my bed, she did not say she saw them inside the box. They told me they were male heads.

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<sup>243</sup> Lydia.

<sup>244</sup> Illegible.

I said, 'Then I should go and fetch the heads. When I got there the petticoat had been destroyed.'

I said, 'Pei,<sup>245</sup> they've gone and she has destroyed the petticoat too.'

They kept at me. Maraea did not say anything like this to me about what was inside my petticoat and so I did not go to Tamati there. She insisted she saw them upon my pillow therefore I was determined to come here. These were Mere's opinions.

That is the evidence concerning the heads. Your red heads belong to Pirihiā Te Kohupita.

**Question to Huhana:**<sup>246</sup>

She said, 'I don't know.'

**Question to Rawiri:**

He said, 'I don't know about that business.'

November 19 1860

The settlement of the 4 pounds. The payment has been settled.

By Tamati.

It was pronounced that it should be split in half. Mere said again it had better be paid. According to the provisions of the law – one pound is for Maraea and one pound for Meri. It is for the two of them to pay – it was the two of them who struck Mere.

**Question:** Rae,<sup>247</sup> will you pay for Mere?

Yes.

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<sup>245</sup> Short for Ngapei.

<sup>246</sup> Susanna.

<sup>247</sup> Short for Maraea.

**When will it be paid?**

Wait til the 17th of December.<sup>248</sup>

I will truly pay it – Maraea.

The names of the witnesses are recorded:

Tamati Ngamoke

Reweti

Wataarauhi

Pare

Manahi<sup>249</sup>

Witnesses

R.H.

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<sup>248</sup> See Letter 72.

<sup>249</sup> Manasses.



## MS 31:68

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Puata pa

Waiongana<sup>250</sup>

[December 10 1859]

Tangiteroria whare

Te Poutoko pa

Taranaki

E koro, e Tamati Ngamoke, tena ra ko koe, ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe. Tena ra koe me to wa[e]reere me o potiki me to teina me o tuakana. Tena koutou e te wanau. Noho mai ra i to koutou kainga. Heoi tena.

Kia rongo mai koe ki ta matou ti[ka]nga mo te wakaaro a te tangata hou nei. I muri o taku reta i tae atu na ki a koe, ka mahi matou, ara, ka mahi atu ki a Wiremu Kingi raua ko Te Reweti, ko Komene, ko Ihaia. Ka mahi noa iho ki a matou ano ki Pukeremu, ki Waitaha, ki Te Takapu. Ka mutu, ka kite au i te kotahitanga o te wakaaro o Te Popokorua i timata mai i Te Umuroa, Te Takapu, Pukerimu, Waitaha. Kimihia mai ana e au ki raro nei, ki a Hopa, ki a Taituha, ki a Henare, ki a Himiona, ki a Te Kati. Ka mutu, tuhi ake ana [i] ta ratou reta. Ka tae ake i te Mane, ka kite iho matou ki a ratou kupu, ka mana[a]kitia ake e te runanga o Taituha raua ko Hopa, ko Henare. Heoi tena.

Ka kimihia e au te tikanga. Ka mea [a]tu au, 'E hoa ma, wakarongo mai. Me haere tetahi tamaiti ki Te Umuroa ki a Wiremu Kingi kia haere mai. Me huihui tatou akuanei kei Te Takapu. Me haringa nga reta ki reira, korero ai to raro me to runga'.

I te awatea i te ono o nga ra o Tihema ka tae maua ki Te Takapu. E noho ana maua ki raro. Ka puta te ra, e haere mai ana tekau ratou ha Wi ma. Ka tae mai, ka huihui katoa ki te ware. Roa rawa, kei runga ko Tau e wakariterite ana i nga kupu.

Ka mutu, ka puta mai ha Hemi Parai, i haere ake i Tipoka. Katahi hoki matou ka kite me Te Popokorua. Heoi ano, waiho rawa ha ia kia noho ana.

Ka mau atu au ki nga reta ka panuitia. Ka mutu ta Wi, ka timata ko ta Taituha raua ko Hopa. Ka mutu te korero o nga reta, katahi hoki ha Hemi ka rongo ki nga reta, ki nga kupu mana[a]ki hoki mo tana tikanga.

Ka timata i [a] au te patai, 'E Mohi, ma koutou ko to wanau te korero?'

'Ae.'

Kei runga ko Mohi, 'Wakarongo ake, e Wi, e Te Reweti, e Ihaia, e Komene, e Te Popokorua. Kia rongo ake koutou. Wakarongo mai hoki e taku, e potiki, e Hemi Parai. Wakarongo ake e Te Kuri nei. Kia rongo ake koe e Wi, e Weti. Ki Waitaha te runanga. Ki Waitaha. Ki te upoko o nga runanga, ki Waitaha.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Ihaka, 'Ki Waitaha te runanga.'

Kei runga ko Aperahama Wetai, 'Ki Waitaha te runanga. Ko Waitaha te upoko o nga runanga.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Te Reweti, 'Kia tika e taku wanau. Kia kaha koutou ki ta koutou, kei au ano taku. Kia tirohia te wahi hei patunga mo tenei ika - e mate ranei kahore ranei?' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Witata, 'Wakarongo mai. E kore au e patu i te kupu o te reta nei. E ki ana te runanga wahine o Wiremu Kingi, hei Te Umuroa te runanga. Ki Te Umuroa te runanga, ki Te Umuroa.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Hemi Hautu, 'Ki Te Umuroa.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Karira, 'Ki Te Umuroa.' Ka mutu.

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<sup>250</sup> See map. According to Fenton's census, Waiongana had a population of 92 men and 38 women.

Kei runga ko Te Waitere, 'Ki Te Umuroa.'

Kei runga ano ko Komene Reweti, 'Kahore aku korero, heoi ano taku korero, kei taku e korerotia mai na.' Ka mutu.

Kei runga ko Pera. 'Heoi ra e te wanau, ki Te Umuroa te runanga.'

Kei runga ko Porana. 'E tenei runanga, ae, e pai a[na] tatou. Kei Te Umuroa te runanga nei. Ae, e pai ana, ae, e pai ana, ae.'

Heoi ano nga kupu o taua huihuinga.

He kupu ano ia, he kupu ke, kaore i korerotia no te mea kua tae ake taua tangata ki a matou, ara ha Hemi Parai. No te waru o nga ra ka tae mai au ki raro nei. Kia rongo mai korua. Ko Te Kuri nei kua mate, kua pouri. Tae mai au me taku korero kaore i hamumu o ratou nei mangai engari ha Taituha, hiahia kia rongo ha ia ki te wakaaro o Te Kuri nei. Kaore hoki i korero, ko te pouritanga ano ki ta korua reta e noho nei.

Heoi tena.

Kia rongo mai koe. Kahore he tikanga i Te Takapu, i Pukerimu, i Waitaha mo taua huihuinga nei. Kei a Wiremu Kingi te tikanga. Mana e karanga tera e tu ai taua runanga ki Te Umuroa me au hoki. Kia tae mai ia no te wakaaturanga ka hoki ai au ki runga. Heoi tena.

Ka nui te kaha o Wiremu Kingi ki te runanga kia hoatu ki Te Umuroa. Ka nui te pakeke o Komene, o Te Reweti. Heoi tena.

He kupu atu tenei naku ki a koe. He wakaaro naku ki to taina, ki a Ropata, kia haere mai hei wakarongo i nga korero a taua runanga hei hoa moku, me [e]tahi o nga tamariki. Otira he kupu kau atu taku. Kei a koe ano te wakaaro ki to teina, otira me haere mai ha ia kia rongo au i te kupu. Heoi tena.

Ko te kupu i a Hemi Parai kaore i te u, kei te mawiti haere, otira hei he ano mona. Ko te wakaaro o Te Popokorua. katahi ano tae noa mai ki Te Kuri i Waitaha, i Pukerimu.

Heoi ano.

Na tou matua, na Te Ngahuru.

E Ro, me haere mai koe ka hoki atu ai.

Ka mutu.

Tihema 10/59

## MS 31:68

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Puata pa  
Waiongana

Tangiteroria whare  
Te Poutoko pa  
Taranaki

Friend, Tamati Ngamoke, greetings to you, great is my love for you. Greetings to you, your wife, your youngest children, your younger brother and your older brothers. Greetings to all your family living at your place. That's all.

Hear our proceedings with regard to the plan of this new man. After my letter, which you received, we did the work, that is to say we worked with Wiremu Kingi<sup>251</sup> and Te Reweti, Komene, and Ihaia. They only worked with us to Pukerimu, Waitaha and Te Takapu. When it was finished, I saw the unity of Te Popokorua's idea, which began with Te Umuroa, Te Takapu, Pukerimu and Waitaha. I looked for it to the north with Hopa, Taituha, Henare, Himiona, and Te Kati.<sup>252</sup> When we finished, they wrote their letter. When it arrived on Monday we saw their words which were supported by the council of Taituha and Hopa, and Henare. That's all.

I considered what to do. I said, 'Friends, hear this. A lad had better go to Te Umuroa, to get Wiremu Kingi to come here. We had better gather at Te Takapu presently. The letters had better be carried there, to speak below and above'.

At dawn on the sixth of December we reached Te Takapu. We sat down. When the sun came up ten of them, ten of them, Wi<sup>253</sup> and that lot, were coming. When they arrived, everyone gathered at the house. After a long time Tau got up and opened the speaking.

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<sup>251</sup> Wiremu Kingi Te Matakatea was associated with Te Umuroa in 1858. Presumably he is referred to here.

<sup>252</sup> Scott.

<sup>253</sup> Wi is a contraction of Wiremu (William).

When he finished, Hemi Parai arrived, he came from Tipoka, so at last we saw him, together with Te Popokorua. Well, he was just left to sit.

I brought the letters and read them out. When I finished Wi's letter I began Taituha's and Hopa's. The reading of the letters finished; now Hemi had heard the letters, and the words in support of his plan.

I began the questioning. 'Mohi, will you and your family speak?'

'Yes.'

Mohi got up. 'Listen, Wi, Te Reweti, Ihaia, Komene, Te Popokorua. Hear me. Listen also my [relations], Potiki, Hemi Parai. Listen, Te Kuri here.<sup>254</sup> You pay heed, Wi, Weti. The council is at Waitaha. At Waitaha, at the head of the councils, at Waitaha.' He stopped.

Ihaka got up. 'The council is at Waitaha.'

Aperahama Wetai got up, 'The council is at Waitaha. Waitaha is the head of the councils.' He stopped.

Te Reweti got up, 'Do right, my family. You stick to yours, as I do to mine. Let us consider the place for killing this fish – will it die or not?' He stopped.

Witata got up, 'Listen to me. I will not oppose the word of this letter. Wiremu Kingi's council of women says that the council is to be at Te Umuroa.<sup>255</sup> At Te Umuroa! Te Umuroa!' He stopped.

<sup>254</sup> According to the address on an undated letter in the Atkinson Collection (MS 31:220) Te Kuri was a *runanga* at Tangiteroria, which in the current letter is described as 'a house'. MS 31: 58 is addressed to 'all the people of Te Kuri (Te Poutoko).

<sup>255</sup> The reference to a 'council of women' may be an insult designed to underline the speaker's opposition to what he considers a weak strategy. In 1860 at one of the meetings held to decide whether to fight in Taranaki, the lower Waikato chief Wiremu Neira Te Awaitaia, who opposed the King Movement, was told that if he stood to speak he would be answered by a woman; Buddle 1860, pp41, 44. Alternatively, it is possible to speculate that the idea of a women's council is connected with the peace party within Taranaki.

Witaha got up. 'Listen here. I will not deny the word of this letter. The women's runanga of Wiremu Kingi say for the runanga of Te Umuroa. At Te Umuroa the runanga, at Te Umuroa.'

Hemi Hautu got up. 'At Te Umuroa.' He stopped.

Karira<sup>256</sup> got up. 'At Te Umuroa.'

Te Waitere got up. 'At Te Umuroa.'

Komene Reweti got up again. 'I don't have anything to say. All I want to say has been said.'

Pera<sup>257</sup> got up, 'That's all, family. The runanga is at Te Umuroa.'

Porana got up. 'O council, yes, we agree. This council is at Te Umuroa. Yes, we agree, yes, we agree, yes.'

These are all the words of that gathering.

But there was another word - a different word - that was not spoken, because that man had come to us. I mean, Hemi Parai.

On the eighth of the days I arrived up here. Hear me, you two. Te Kuri here is sick and sad. I arrived with what I had to say and they said nothing. Taituha wanted to hear Te Kuri's thinking. However he did not speak, because he was so upset at your letter sitting here. That's all.

Hear me. Takapu, Pukerimu and Waitaha make no decision about this meeting. The decision lies with Wiremu Kingi. It is for him to proclaim that that council will be held at Te Umuroa, and for me as well. When he comes, on his pointing it out I will go back down. That's all.

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<sup>256</sup> Creed, after a Wesleyan missionary at Waimate South in the early 1840s

<sup>257</sup> Possibly Aperā Ngatawa (see Letter 35).

Wiremu Kingi is very determined that the council should be given to Te Umuroa. Komene and Te Reweti are just as oppsed. That 's all.

This is my word to you. I am thinking about your younger brother, Ropata, that he should come to listen to the speeches of that council as my supporter, together with some of the children. However it is only my opinion. It's your decision about your younger brother, but he ought to come so that I hear the word. That's all.

The word of Hemi Parai is not firm, it skips along. However, it will cause him trouble. Te Popokorua's idea has now reached Te Kuri from Waitaha and Pukerimu.

That's all.

From your elder, Te Ngahuru.

Ro, you had better come here when you return.

The end.

December

10/59



## MS 31:69

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Puata

Keteonetea pa

Tihema 12 1859

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki Te Puata, ki a Tamati Ngamoke. E hoa, tena ra koe me au tamariki. Ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koutou katoa.

E hoa, noho mai ra i kona i tena kainga o taua. Ko ahau, kahore aku tamariki Kaingarara. Kua kore ahau i te kite atu i te Kaingarara, kei te u ranei, haua<sup>258</sup> ranei. E toru ano aku tamariki Kaingarara kei ahau.

He kupu ke tenei. Kia rongu mai koe. Ko taku wenua i Pikiwahine. I taku haerenga ki te mahi ka raruraru i a Wi Patene. Ko tenei ko te peia mai e ahau taua tangata. Ko tenei, e kaha tonu ana ahau kia ha[e]re ano au ki te mahi.

Mau te wakaaro. Mau te wakaaro.

Kia hoki au ki taku wenua e pai ana, mehemea ko te piringa mai o te Kaingarara ki ahau anei. Kua waiho e au hei kainga mo te Kaingarara, anei kua nohoia rawatia.

E hoa, ko aku raruraru ka hoatu katoa e ahau ki a koe. Ko taku waka tetahi. Kahore ano i tangohia noatia; he kai maoa ki runga. Ka mutu.

Wakarongo mai. Ko Te Kepa raua ko Angikiha kia hohoro mai, he karaka tetahi na Hohi. Ma Te Kepa e korero atu ki a koe tona ritenga i mahuetia ai.

Na Panapa Te Hokinga

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<sup>258</sup> Read as kaua.

MS 31:69

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Puata

Keteonetea pa

December 12 1859

Go, my letter, to Te Puata, to Tamati Ngamoke. Friend, greetings to you and your children. My love for you all is great.

My friend, live there in that settlement of ours. As for me, I do not have any Kaingarara children. I will not have seen the Kaingarara, whether it is established or not. I have exactly my three Kaingarara children with me.

This is a different word. Hear this. As for my land at Pikiwahine, when I went to work it I was hassled by Wi Patene.<sup>259</sup> And so I drove that man off. My position is that I am extremely keen to go and work it again.

The decision is yours. The decision is yours. Were I to return to my land it would be good, if the Kaingarara stick with me now. I have left it as a home for the Kaingarara, and now it is all settled.

Friend, I entirely give my troubles over to you. One is my canoe. I did not just take it; there was cooked food on board. That's all.

Listen, let Te Kepa and Angikiha<sup>260</sup> come quickly, as one is a clerk of Hohi's. Te Kepa will tell you why he abandoned [his wife].<sup>261</sup>

From Panapa Te Hokinga

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<sup>259</sup> William Barton. Wi[remu] Patene was a Wesleyan minister in 1863. In a letter criticising the Pai Marire faith, he described himself as an Assessor (probably in the Tauranga area); *AJHR* 1865, A5, No.23, Encl. 10.

<sup>260</sup> On 18 July 1865 Angikiha wrote a letter from Hiruharama on the Wanganui river. This area was associated with Te Kepa.

<sup>261</sup> See Letter 43.

**MS 31:70**

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Keteonetea

Tihema 12 1859

Haere ra e taku reta aroha ki Te Puata, ki a Tamati. E hoa, tena ra koe, ka nui toku aroha ki a koe.

Kia rongo mai koe. Ka nui toku pouri ki a Rakapa. Kua nui noa ake tona mate. No konei au ka raruraru ki te haere ki te mahi i tou waka. Ko tenei ara, mau e homai tetahi maramatanga ki [a] ahau kia puta ai ahau ki te mahi i te waka.

Heo[i], ka mutu.

Na Panapa Te Hokinga

**MS 31:70**

To Tamati Ngamoke

Keteonetea

December 12 1859

Go my loving letter to Te Puata, to Tamati. Friend, greetings, great is my love for you.

Hear me. I am very distressed about Rakapa, who is very sick indeed. Therefore, I have had trouble going to work on your canoe. As for this path, will you give me guidance, so that I can go and work on the canoe.

Well, that's all.

From Panapa Te Hokinga

## MS 31:72

Te Puata

17th Tihema 1859

Ko te hokinga mai tenei o Maraea ki te wakarite i tana ra i te tekau ma witi o Tihema. Kua pono, no te mea ko tenei ra te ra wakarite utu.

Kua kite katoa nga tangata o te runanga wakawa i te homaitanga a Maraea i nga pauna e rua, kua utua i taua ra ano i te tekau ma witi. Kua oti rawa.

Na Tamati Ngamoke

Na Te Reweti

Na Te Watarauhi

Ngaki nga kumara Noema 21 1861, he iti tiaki.<sup>262</sup>

Hei tiaki tenei i nga taonga o Wi Kawahorangi. Nui taonga:

he hooro – 1

He hiti – 1

Ranapauta – 1

Himi – 1

Hate – 1

Tupeka – 18

Panekoti – 1

Heoi ano.

Hei tiaki no te takau ma wha Oketopa 14 1861 i Mane.

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<sup>262</sup>The final page of this letter is in a different hand, probably that of Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke.

MS 31:72

Te Puatia

17th December 1859

This is the return of Maraea to fulfil her day, the 17th of December. It has been carried out, because this day is the day to put payments in order. The people of the council of judgement have all witnessed Maraea's giving of the two pounds which have been paid on the very day, the 17th.

It is entirely dealt with.

By Tamati Ngamoke

By Te Reweti

By Te Watarauhi

Planting kumara November 21 1861,

This is for a check list of the possessions of Wi Kawahorangi.<sup>263</sup> Main possessions:

A shawl – 1

Roundabout – 1

Chemise – 1

Shirt – 1

Tobacco – 1

Petticoat – 1

That is all.

To look after October 14, 1861, on Monday.

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<sup>263</sup> Wi Kawahorangi signed the letter mentioned in Letter 12.

## MS 31:74

Ngaruawahia<sup>264</sup>

Tihema 29/59

Ki a Tamati Te Ito

Ki a Wiremu Kingi

Ki Taranaki

Ki a Ngati Ruanui

E hoa ma, whakamutua ta koutou mahi kikokiko. Kaua e tohe. Whakamutua rawatia.

Heoi ano.

Na Toma Whakapo

Na Rewi Maniapoto

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<sup>264</sup> Rewi Maniapoto raised the king's flag at Ngaruawahia in 1858. It was the centre of King Movement politics at this time.

MS 31:74

Ngaruawahia

December 29/59

To Tamati Te Ito

To Wiremu Kingi<sup>265</sup>

To Taranaki

To Ngati Ruanui

Friends, cease your practice of sorcery. Do not persist with it. Cease for good.

That is all.

From Toma<sup>266</sup> Whakapo

From Rewi Maniapoto<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> In December 1859 the King's flag was left with Erueti (not to be confused with Erueti Te Whiti) of Waitara. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake accused those in favour of joining the King Movement of treacherous behaviour, and left Waitara to live with Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke on the Waiongana river, probably at Te Puata, Tamati's pa on the Waiongana and Mangaoraka rivers; Wells 1878, p184.

<sup>266</sup> Thomas. Toma Whakapo was a King Movement supporter. In May 1860 he described the government as the aggressors in Taranaki, and said, 'If the Governor says Wm King must be destroyed, and the flag must come down, and the roads must be opened, I say No, no.' Buddle 1860, pp35-36.

<sup>267</sup> At a young age, the Ngati Maniapoto chief Rewi (Levi) Maniapoto was part of the Waikato ope led by Te Wherowhero who captured Pukerangiora in 1831. He was a supporter of the King Movement in the 1850s. In 1860 he fought against the government troops in Taranaki at Puketakauere, and at Huirangi the following year; *People of Many Peaks, 1769-1869*, pp39-41.



**MS 31:240**

Ko te [ra] tenei i mate ai a Neirai i te Turei i te tekau nga [ra] o Hanuere 10, 1860

fNo t[e] rima o Pepuere i whana[u] ai 1853 tae noa ki te ono tekau o nga tau.

Ka mate 1860. Ka mate.

**MS 31:240**

This is the day on which Neirai died, Tuesday the 10th of January 10, 1860.

She was born on the 5th of February 1853 [and lived] until the year 60.

She died in 1860. She died.

**MS 31:78**

Hanueri 10 1860

He ritenga mamae tenei no Tamati ki a Neirai, ki tana kotiro.

Ka mea tana tangi, 'Kei wea [a] Neirai, e ngaro i a au?'

Heoi ano.

Na Tamati

MS 31:78

January 10 1860

This is a record of Tamati's grief for Neirai, his daughter.

His lament says, 'Where is Neirai, whom I have lost?'

That is all.

By Tamati

MS 31:79

Hanueri 21 1860

Ko te tikanga tenei mo Te Tamati Tahuaroa, he korero teka ki a Paiata. Kua wakaae a Tahuaroa ki nga pauna e rima, £5.0.0. Kei te rua o nga marama 31 o nga ra o Maehe, ka takoto ai nga utu. Ka tuhia te ingoa, ko Tahuaroa.

Na Tamati Ngamoke

Ko Hone Wetere, Kaititiro

MS 31:79

January 21 1860

This is the ruling on account of Te Tamati Tahuaroa's evil word to Paiata. Tahuaroa has agreed to the five pounds £5.0.0. In two months, on the 31st of March the payment will be settled.

The name is recorded, Tahuaroa.

From Tamati Ngamoke

Hone Wetere,<sup>268</sup> Witness

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<sup>268</sup>John Wesley.

**MS 31:86**

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke

Kei Te Pakarara

Mangaone pa

Hune 14 1860

Ki a Tamati Ngamoke,

E hoa, tena ra koe, ka nui toku aroha atu ki a koe.

E hoa, kua rongo au i taau kupu mo ta taua ritenga, kia teieti.<sup>269</sup> E tika ana to kupu mo ta taua mahi, engari kei a koe te whakaaro. Kaore e ritenga i au, otira e tika ana kei [a] au ano tetahi wahi. Engari, kei te kaha tonu au ki taua ritenga.

Eoi ano.

Na Herora ki a Tamati Ngamoke

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<sup>269</sup>Teieti is read as tieti, a transliteration of the verb 'judge'. Duval 1995, p436. However Teieti as a proper noun occurs on deeds of Crown grant for Urenui and Ohawe. *AJHR* 1880, Vol.2, G2, Append. 2, pp6-7.

MS 31:86

To Tamati Ngamoke at Te Pakarara

Mangaone pa

June 14 1860

To Tamati Ngamoke

Friend, greetings to you, great is my love for you.

Friend, I have heard your word regarding our practice, that it should be judged. Your word concerning our work is fair, but the decision is yours. I do not have a practice, but it is right that I have one part. However, I am still in strong support of that practice.

That's all.

From Herora<sup>270</sup> to Tamati Ngamoke

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<sup>270</sup>Herod.



**MS 31:98**

Mei 8th 1861

Ki a Hoani Koinaki, ki a Tamati Te Ito

Kei Matai[ta]wa<sup>271</sup>

Haere atu ra e taku reta ki Matai[ta]wa, ki a Hoani, ki a Te Hapimana, ki a Tamati Te Ito, ki a koutou katoa.

E hoa ma, kia rongo mai koutou. Ka nui ana taku raruraru ki nga kaanga a te tamariki, ki taku turoro hoki. Kia tae mai te kaata, ka haere au ki te kawē. Ka hoki mai, ka tomo ai tatou ko Tupara te tuku atu kia haere hei te ra e tomo ai tatou. Tena ano he tangata.

Na Te Waaka Te Huka

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<sup>271</sup> See map. From the late 1860s Tamati Te Ito Ngamoke was known as 'the Mataitawa prophet'; *Taranaki News*, 26 September 1876, p7.

MS 31:98

May 8th 1861

272

To Hoani Koinaki<sup>273</sup> and Tamati Te Ito at Matai[ta]wa

Go my letter to Matai[ta]wa, to Hoani, Te Hapimana,<sup>274</sup> Tamati Te Ito and all of you.

Friends, hear this. The young people's burning and also my sick person have given me a lot of trouble. When the cart comes I will go and take him. When we come back, we will enter. Tupara<sup>275</sup> won't be allowed to go on the day that we enter, for there will be people.

From Te Waaka Te Huka

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<sup>272</sup> Bullock carts were a means of transportation at the time. Cowan describes how after the battle of Waireka Maori removed their casualties in such carts; Cowan 1983, Vol.1, p180.

<sup>273</sup> In April 1863 Hoani Koinaki wrote to Wiremu Kingi informing him that 'the Mataitawa people have dug their trenches and are awaiting further instruction.' War re-started in Taranaki on 4 May 1863. AJHR 1863, E1 No.19, Encl. 1, p18.

<sup>274</sup> Chapman.

<sup>275</sup> Probably Tubal, but tupara was also the transliteration for a double-barrelled shotgun.

# MS 31:188

Te Poutoko

14th Aperira 1863

Ki a Tamati

E koro, tena ko koe.

Kua tae mai tau reta ki [a] au, kia kite au i au korero. Ka nui te pai tika a tau reta me tau kupu mai ki [a] au noku te he. E tika ana noku ano te he tuatahi. Kaore ianei i huna e au ki a Henere aua he. Kua kitea mai ena e koe. Kei mai koe kei te huna atu au ki a koe. Mehemea ianei kei te ngaro i ahau henei. Ka tika tau ki mai kia whiua au. Otira kei a koe te whakaaro mo tena taha. Ki te pai koe ki te whiu i au, kei a koe tetahi. Me he mea i rongu mai koe naku te kupu tamana mo Henere ka tika - tetahi e tika ana. Taku hutinga i tona mahunga te take ko tana pananga i au ki waho o te whare. Heoi tena.

Ko taku pakarutanga i te wine, e tika ana ko tana whakahewanga i au kia puta au ki waho o te whare. Katahi ka raka e ia te whare. No reira ka pakarutia e au te wini o te whare. Kei mea koe kei te whakapeka au ki hau korero. Kei te tika taua kupu tamana. Ehara i te mea he tuku naku i a ia ki te he, erangi he kawe naku kia wehea ta maua ture, no te mea kua mohio koe ko tau mahi tonu tenei ki taua wahine o maua. Ko au, kaore au i mohio e kuare. Heoi tena.

E hoki ana au ki toku iwi, no te mea kua pai tenei. Kua tae mai ia ki te kainga mau e kite iho i te he o aku korero ka tukua atu na ki a koe.

Heoi ano.

Na Minita

Tenei ano tetahi o aku kupu. I raro te wai o nga waewae. E whakamarama ana, tukua kia ngaro, e core tena e taea. Kaore. Na taku Matua i whakaaro, ka waiho mai i au taku he. Koia me noho i unga i te tika, hei whakaako mo maua.

MS 31:188

Te Poutoko

14 April 1863

To Tamati

Friend, greetings to you.

I have received your letter and seen what you have to say. Your letter is very fair, including your word to me that I am at fault.

It is correct that the first offence was entirely mine. I certainly did not conceal those offences from Henere. You have seen them; don't say I am concealing them from you. If I were really hiding them, your opinion that I should be punished would be right, however it's up to you what you think about that side of it. If you see fit to punish me, you have a certain right. If you heard that I was the one who issued the summons for Henere, it is partly correct. My pulling out his hair was what caused him to push me out of the house. That's all of that.

As for my breaking the window, he scalped me to get me out of the house. Then he locked the house. Therefore I broke the window of the house. Don't say I am flouting your words. That summons is fair. It is not the case that I led her astray, rather I insisted that our law be divided, because you know this is exactly what you did in respect of that woman of ours. As for me, I did not know realise that he is ignorant. That's all of that.

I am returning to my people, because this is a good thing. When she gets home, you will see whether what I have told you is wrong.

That's all.

From Minita<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>276</sup>According to the inventory for the Atkinson letters, this letter is in the hand of Ropata Ngarongomate, however the formation of the letter *k* is different from that on letters signed by Ropata, therefore the identity of 'Minita' (Minister) remains unproven, however the assumption that 'Minita' is a Christian teacher has dictated the capitalisation of 'Father' in the postscript. Another possibility is that this letter was dictated to Minita' by the miscreant. This letter seems to be a case of sexual misconduct.

This is another thing I have to say: the water underneath the feet. It means, let it disappear - it cannot be done, no. It was my Father's wish that I leave my sin behind. For I must dwell in righteousness, as a lesson for us both.

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### Abbreviations

<i>JPS</i>	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</i>

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